FBIS DAILY REPORT

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DAILY COMMENTS ON SOLIDARITY AND COUNTERREVOLUTION

AU221212 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 18 Sep 81 p 7

[Ivan Petrov article: "'No' to Attempts at Exporting Counterrevolution"]

[Text] We have already informed our public about the situation in Poland in a number of articles and we have expressed our opinion on it. It is unnecessary, therefore, to go back to the analysis made in those articles. We must, however, point out that the Solidarity congress, whose first stage took place from 5 through 10 September, has added qualitatively new factors to the situation in Poland. The character and essence of them are such as to require a new analysis and we must also express our opinion on this subject.

In the first place, numerous important changes were introduced as regards the character, goals and tasks of Solidarity from the rostrum of this congress and in the course of its proceedings. Solidarity's approach to the PZPR, to the Polish socialist state, to the alliances of the Polish People's Republic and to the socialist community has also changed. As a matter of fact, counterrevolutionary claims for power and for the actual liquidation of the existing social system in the country were openly expressed at this congress.

What was this congress actually like--a congress that pompously claimed to represent and defend the interests of the workers class? Who were the leading characters who directed and manipulated the delegates to the congress and its work?

All observers have analyzed the basic factor in this case. It was a fact that only 20 percent of the delegates to the congress, which claimed to be a workers congress, actually belonged to the workers class. The remaining 80 percent consisted of functionaries and employees on the payroll of the Solidarity apparatus. It is obvious that with such a composition of delegates, a congress can neither represent nor express the interests, views and evaluations of the workers class and of workers collectives. This congress, above all, represents certain circles of the Solidarity leadership and expresses their will. No political party, claiming to represent the workers class would dare to have such a list of delegates, let alone a trade union.

The leading role at the congress was played by the leading functionaries of KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] and the "Confederation for an Independent Poland" who are well-known and notorious for their counterrevolutionary and antisocialist views. They were the main experts and leading figures at the congress. We all witnessed the leading role played at the congress by people like Karol Modzelewski, Jacek Kuron and others, who are inveterate enemies of the PZPR and of socialist Poland. They were the ones who pulled the strings. Thus, the congress, instead of being a socialist workers' trade union congress developed into an openly antisocialist and anticommunist gathering.

The Solidarity congress in Gdansk introduced two important and essential changes into the character and activities of the Solidarity trade union, changes which cannot remain unnoticed either in Poland, or in any other country.

First of all, there was an obvious and one-sided change as regards the character and role of Solidarity within society. The independent Solidarity trade union, which was created in August 1980, evolved during the congress into an organization of political opposition trying to achieve political power in the country. As we can see, this is a very important evolution to the right; it is a considerable change which cannot be disregarded.

Secondly, the Solidarity congress in Gdansk not only changed the role and character of this trade union, but also its policy. In August 1980 this policy was still one of "social consensus" implying active cooperation with the PZPR, with the state organs and with all constructive forces in Poland--a policy aimed at overcoming the crisis. Following the Gdansk congress, however, a policy of open confrontation with the PZPR and with the Polish socialist state was adopted. As we can see, this is a very significant change that cannot remain unnoticed.

The congress debates and the decisions adopted are inspired by one, single thought and are subjected to one main goal--namely to discredit the party and socialism as a whole, to reject the tremendous achievements of the Polish people along the path of socialism and in consolidating the independence of the Polish People's Republic; the goal is to seize power: the goal is to undermine and ultimately destroy the social structures created by the socialist system and to replace national property by private property relations and by the interests of certain groups. In this respect the congress worked out a special, comprehensive program, aimed at the liquidation of the party's leading role, at the elimination of the existing legislative and judicial system, as well as at taking over the economic management and at establishing the decisive role of Solidarity in the selection and distribution of cadres. An open appeal was made to dissolve the Sejm and the local People's Councils elected by the people, as well as to dominate the mass media, etc. Things went so far as to address a special ultimatum to the Sejm requesting it to reject the government project on economic reform aimed at overcoming the crisis.

As we know, Solidarity came into existence with the claim to defend the urgent interests of the workers class. Nevertheless, even if it sounds paradoxical, we must face the truth that the Solidarity congress is the only "trade union" congress in the world which did not adopt any decisions related to the working people's interests.

This turning point in the evolution of the official Solidarity policy cannot remain unnoticed. There is no doubt at all that an ever growing number of people from the workers class, who were previously misled and confused by the demagogic tricks and speculations of certain leaders and groups within the so-called Solidarity trade union, will become aware of the truth and will recognize this organization's true character and goals.

All activities of the congress and all its decisions were aimed at and subjected to the political goals, ambitions and claims of the Solidarity leaders. This orientation and character of the Gdansk congress are by no means accidental. They reflect the new trend pursued by Solidarity. This organization no longer conceals its goals today. On the contrary--it boldly expresses them and is fighting vigorously for their implementation. The period when such goals were discussed under a nebulous phraseology belongs to the past. We are confronted with a full and one-sided rejection of the Gdansk agreement signed between the Polish Government and the Solidarity trade union, by a withdrawal from the commitment assumed by the leaders of this organization related to the character and role of Solidarity in the socialist structure of Polish society.

The recent period has unmistakably and categorically shown Solidarity to be a factor that by no means contributes to the stabilization of the situation and to overcoming the crisis. It has unmasked Solidarity as a factor that on the contrary, contributes to an aggravation of the crisis and to an exacerbation of social tension. Everyone is aware of the fact that, instead of trying to find a way out of the crisis and to stabilize the situation, Solidarity is striving for chaos and anarchy. Why is this so? Counterrevolution obviously considers chaos and anarchy as prerequisites for the achievement of its goals. For a year, hiding behind the mask of an "independent, self-governing trade union" the leaders of counterrevolution have intentionally, methodically, and even quite successfully been pushing the country toward economic ruin; violations of the law are being committed; honest cadres, loyal to socialism, are being subjected to persecution; millions of people are exposed to constant tension and inseucrity. Stricks, political pressure and ultimatums, diktat, threats, and blackmail, violence and moral terror, demagogy, and deceptions--these are the methods by which counterrevolution is trying to achieve its goals.

The present dramatic situation in Poland can no longer be explained by mistakes and shortcomings committed in the past. The crisis of Polish society has escalated and has been intensified until it has reached the present stage and extent of gravity, above all, as a result of the subversive activities of the international and internal counterrevolution, as a result of the antisocialist forces which have entrenched themselves in Solidarity.

The entire year of activities of the Solidarity trade union show that this organization is the main obstacle preventing the country from finding a way out of the acute economic and political crisis. Facts show that the Solidarity leaders are obstructing any constructive step toward overcoming the crisis and toward a stabilization of the economic situation, that they are the source of chaos and disorganization in the production sector and in social life, that they are constantly expressing unrealistic and provocative demands. As a result of this demagogic attitude and of these disorganized actions committed by Solidarity, the production volume is decreasing disastrously, the state debts are growing, the shortage of essential goods for the population is becoming increasingly acute, inflation is pervading the country, the black market and unemployment are expanding, so that thousands of Polish citizens are leaving the country to look for survival abroad. In 1980 industrial production decreased by 10 percent, meat supplies on the markets were reduced by 27 percent, exports decreased by 24 percent and the country's debts exceeded $27 billion.

At the Solidarity congress the leaders of this organization, guided by their principle "the worse the situation, the better for us," even more intensified their attacks against the PZPR and the government, without proposing any practical measures, without assuming any responsibility, or commitments in connection with economic stabilization or with any efforts to overcome the crisis. Their effort to discredit socialism became even more obvious. This is the effort to convince public opinion that the PZPR and the Polish state are incapable of coping with the situation and, for that reason, Solidarity is called upon to take care of Poland's fate, that is to say--to take over power. Chaos and anarchy, the permanent exacerbation of political tension--these are some of the essential elements in the tactics of counterrevolution. Such methods are intended to create the desired atmosphere likely to lead toward the implementation of counterrevolutionary goals.

We can see, as a result of all this, that events in Poland have reached a new stage. The counterrevolutionary forces are going over to total confrontation. The extent of the threat to the stability and security of the Polish socialist state, as well as the threat to the interests of the entire socialist community have reached dangerous limits. Security and stability throughout Europe are threatened. The danger has reached an extent that should by no means be disregarded and under no circumstances at all should this be tolerated. This is so because Poland occupies a place of exceptional importance within the socialist community and because it is an exceptionally important link in this community. As a matter of fact, a threat to Poland means a threat to the status quo and to peace in Europe. Any further political or economic destablization in Poland directly affects the interests of the socialist community and threatens the cause of peace in Europe and throughout the world.

The development of events and the attempts of certain reactionary circles to give new trends to their evolution demand an unmistakable and categorical conclusion: We should have no illusions at all either about the internal counterrevolution in Poland, or about the one outside Poland. There should be no illusions at all as regards the fact that there can be only one Poland today--a socialist Polish People's Republic--as an inseparable part of the socialist community and of the Warsaw Pact organization.

Any other goal or action are adventurous and likely to provoke a dangerous disaster.

One of the most essential elements in the political character and political intention of the Gdansk congress was the preparation and adoption of a special "appeal to the peoples of Eastern Europe." This is a very significant political act committed by the Solidarity leadership. We are confronted with an attempt at gross interference in the socialist countries' domestic affairs and with a gross political provocation against these countries. As for their very essence this action and this "appeal" represent an attempt at the direct export of Polish counterrevolution to the other socialist countries. Because of this, such action could not be interpreted otherwise than as a counterrevolutionary pamphlet, aimed at a destabilization of the situation among the workers class and within the society of the countries where real socialism exists.

Behind the mask of an apparently benevolent eloquence the workers in the socialist countries are neither more nor less than called upon to take up the struggle for a change in the socialist political and social structures of their countries.

The Gdansk "appeal" strongly expresses the political irresponsibility and adventurism of the Solidarity leaders.

If the present situation in Poland had not been as tragic as it is, and if it did not fill us with sorrow and anxiety about the fate and future of the Polish workers class, if we did not cherish fraternal solidarity and affection for the Polish people and for the Polish workers as we actually do, then the Bulgarian workers would disregard the "appeal" with an ironical smile. For, Bulgarian workers have often heard such appeals by the imperialist propaganda centers and by various deviationists and enemies of socialism. The attacks of the class enemy are a natural and normal occurrence to which we are used. However, when such actions are committed by people who claim the right to speak on behalf of millions of workers in a fraternal socialist country, they cannot be passed over in silence, they cannot fail to provoke anger and indignation.

The Bulgarian working people are resolutely saying "no" to such a premeditated and gross political provocation directed against the socialist countries, to such a crude provocation against the socialist countries, to such a crude provocation against the workers class conscience. In the workshops of our plants and on our building sites, numerous spontaneous meetings and rallies are taking place these days. The workers are categorically declaring: "No, this will not be tolerated!"

The great revolutionary experience of the Bulgarian workers movement has long confirmed the fact and daily confirms that the trade unions cannot carry out their historical role as consistent fighters for the basic interests of the workers class and as militant champions of the working people, if they are deprived of the ideological leadership of the communist party--the militant revolutionary vanguard and political leader of the workers class--in their struggle for the destruction of capitalism and for the construction of a new socialist society. As Georgi Dimitrov stated on this subject "...without the trade unions, thoroughly permeated by the communist spirit, which are marching side by side with the communist party, the complete victory of proletarian revolution is impossible. There can be no true and real proletarian dictatorship without this prerequisite and the socialist organization of production, as well as the establishment of a communist society are unthinkable without this alliance." These are the kind of trade unions that serve the Bulgarian people and their authoritative and respected role in the people's life and in our society has been achieved at the price of militant struggle, working efforts and loyal service to the workers class and to the communist ideals.

Only people deprived of any realistic approach can look for followers of alien and hostile goals and actions as demonstrated by Solidarity among the Bulgarian workers class. The Bulgarian workers have chosen their path once and for all--the path of building socialism under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. In following this path they rescued Bulgaria from poverty and centuries-old backwardness; with their working efforts they made Bulgaria an economically and culturally prospering and universally respected country. There is no force capable of diverting the Bulgarian working people from this path.

The Bulgarian workers class is engaged in building and not in destroying socialism. Solidarity's leaders cannot be its teachers in the struggle to fulfill its historical mission in building a developed socialist society in the People's Republic of Bulgaria. This is why the Bulgarian workers class resolutely denounces such provocative actions and categorically rejects the "appeal" of the Gdansk Solidarity congress.

The Bulgarian workers class receives the "appeal" of the Gdansk congress not as a political act of the Polish workers class, but as a provocative action of the Solidarity leaders, and in particular, as an action of the leaders of KOR and of the "Confederation for an Independent Poland."

Only political adventurers who are irresponsible towards the fate of their own people can appeal to the workers class to struggle against its own government, against its own state against the socialist system. There is one single act of the Solidarity leader that is sufficient to unmask their true character and their counterrevolutionary goals. As a matter of fact, they have never concealed their hatred for socialism. They even shun the word "socialism" like the plague. This word has never been part of their ideological-political vocabulary.

We can now see them in a new role, however--the role of political provocateurs and subversive elements--which is the exclusive privilege of the imperialist diversionist agencies, of the most violent and inveterate enemies of socialism. Such provocation shows that the extremists in the Solidarity leadership are acting as a tool of world wide reaction. Imperialism is now relying on them to split and weaken socialist society, the international workers and trade union movement. It is by no means difficult to understand why Solidarity enjoys the full political, ideological and financial support of international reaction, of hundreds of centers and foundations belonging to the imperialist bourgeoisie.

What is the general conclusion that we can draw from the recent development of the situation in Poland? It can obviously only be the following: The development of the crisis in Poland has reached its decisive stage. Not only that it is impossible to make any further concession, but things have reached such a stage of development that it is impossible to remain in the present position since Solidarity is heading for open confrontation. There is only one way out of the present situation--a decisive offensive and a struggle by all means against counterrevolution. Now, it is no longer enough to be aware that an offensive is necessary. A bold and resolute practical offensive is what we need today. This necessity is obvious to all Polish patriots with common sense and to Poland's true friends abroad. The question poses only one dilemma: Either taking up the offensive--or abandoning the interests of socialism and of the people to the hands of counterrevolution. Any failure to see the connection between the evaluation of the character and gravity of the situation and the necessity to adopt practical actions for a way out of this situation that is in the interest of counterrevolution would even more increase its appetite for seizing power and for liquidating the Polish people's socialist achievements.

The BCP, the workers class and all Bulgarian people have not lost their faith in the healthy forces of the Polish workers class, within the PZPR and among the Polish people. We are confident that the socialist society in Poland is fully capable of defending socialism in the Polish People's Republic and has all the necessary means to do so. The question now is to lead and mobilize the forces loyal to socialism and to arouse them to a decisive and practical struggle for the rescue of the Polish People's Republic, of the socialist achievements of the Polish workers class and people. We assure these forces of our full support and our true communist and workers solidarity. They are not and they will not be alone in the struggle against the raging counterrevolution.

TODOROV-LED DELEGATION RETURNS FROM ROMANIA

AU221016 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Text] A Bulgarian parliamentary delegation led by Stanko Todorov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the National Assembly, paid a 7-day visit to Romania at the invitation of Nicolae Giosan, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and chairman of the Great National Assembly. The Bulgarian delegation returned home today and was welcomed at Sofia airport by the deputy chairman of the National Assembly [name not given] and by Petre Dumenica, Romanian ambassador to Bulgaria. Comrade Stanko Todorov said the following to a Sofia radio representative:

[Begin recording] During our visit to Romania we had the opportunity to hold many detailed talks with the Great National Assembly Bureau as well as with Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP Central Committee secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, as well as with the other state, party and parliamentary figures on the multifaceted problems of our comprehensive cooperation. It is our common impression that the cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Socialist Republic of Romania is developing on an ascending scale in all spheres. We have to draw the general conclusion that the directives issued by our first party and state leaders, comrades Zhivkov and Ceausescu, during the visit of the Bulgarian party-government delegation to Romania in 1980 are being successfully fulfilled. We also had the opportunity to discuss in detail [words indistinct] and the role of the parliaments in safeguarding peace, particularly in the present aggravated international situation caused by U.S. imperialism and its NATO partners, which are following an adventurous and militarist course led by the U.S. administration headed by President Reagan. In this respect, the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Socialist Republic of Romania, as members of the Warsaw Pact, bear a great responsibility to safeguard peace in Europe and throughout the world and particularly here, in the Balkans, where we live. [end recording]

REPORTAGE ON VISIT OF CONGOLESE PRIME MINISTER

22 Sep Arrival

AU221418 Sofia BTA in English 1320 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Text] Sofia, 22 Sep (BTA)--Col Louis-Sylvain Goma, prime minister and leader of the Government of the Congo, arrived here today on an official and state visit.

At the airport of Sofia, he was welcomed by his host--the chairman of the Ministerial Council of Bulgaria, Mr Grisha Filipov and by other officials.

The guard of honor paid military tributes to Mr Louis-Sylvain Goma.

Today in the afternoon the two government leaders will start official talks on issues concerning Bulgaro-Congolese cooperation.

There are tours of a number of agricultural projects in Sofia and Varna on the four-day programme of the visit.

Talks With Filipov

AU221954 Sofia BTA in English 1840 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Text] Sofia, 22 Sep (BTA)--Today Mr Louis-Sylvain Goma, prime minister and head of the Government of Congo, and Mr Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Ministerial Council of Bulgaria opened official talks here.

They made a detailed review of Bulgaro-Congolese relations and found with satisfaction that they are developing favourably.

The two prime ministers were unanimous in saying that the agreements reached at Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Denis Sassou-Nguesso's meeting in May, have raised bilateral cooperation on a new level and have opened the road to its further promoting. Today, in compliance with the implementation of the tasks mapped out by the two countries' heads-of-state, Mr Grisha Filipov and Mr Louis-Sylvain Goma discussed questions related to improving and expanding the forms of the previous development of cooperation.

Discussing some topical international matters they expressed the two countries' identity of views.

Bulgaria and Congo's prime ministers exchanged also information of the topical questions and tasks facing the two countries.

On the Bulgarian part the talks were attended by: Mr Khristo Khristov, minister of foreign trade; Mr Aleksandur Petkov, chairman of the National Agro-Industrial Council; Mr Ivan Sakarev, construction and architecture minister; Mr Marin Yotov, deputy minister of foreign affairs and others.

On the Congolese part the talks were attended by: Mr Benoit Moundele Ngollo, minister of public works and construction; Mr Marius Mouambenga, minister of agriculture and stock-breeding; Mr Emmanuel Yoka, minister with the Presidency on cooperation matters and others.

Filipov Hosts Dinner 22 Sep

AU222006 Sofia BTA in English 1848 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Text] Sofia, 22 Sep (BTA)--Mr Girsha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria, emphasized at the formal dinner for his Congolese guest, Mr Louis Sylvain Goma: "It is with great attention and fraternity that we follow the efforts being made by the Congolese Labor Party, the Congo's Government and people, in the struggle for consolidating the political and economic independence of the country, for materializing the course adopted by your party of radical reforms in all spheres of life, and we are sincerely glad with the successes achieved by you."

The head of the Bulgarian Government gave a high appraisal of the Congo's foreign policy. He said: "We are pleased with the Congo's high international authority in the Organisation of the African Unity, in the Nonaligned Movement and in other regional and international organisations, her active role in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, racism and apartheid, for preserving peace and for disarmament, for unfolding international cooperation, for consolidating the friendship and unity of action between independent Africa and the socialist countries."

Dwelling on the international situation exacerbated through the fault of the reactionary imperialist circles and first of all the U.S., Mr Grisha Filipov emphasized: "The grave deterioration of the international situation cannot leave us at ease. This is why we, together with the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries, shall continue for unflinching struggle to halt the arms competition, for disarmament, for peace and equal security of all states."

He pointed out that Bulgaria resolutely condemns the ominous plots of imperialism in Africa. The South African Republic, which steps up her cooperation with the West in the nuclear sphere and, actively backed up by the U.S. and the other imperialist states, is pursuing an aggression policy against the neighbouring states, is a threat to the peace and security not only in Africa but in the whole world.

Mr Grisha Filipov emphasized that Bulgaria is rendering and will render unreserved support for the struggle of the Namibian people led by their legitimate representative, the SWAPO [South West African People's Organization], and stands for granting absolute and real independence to Namibia. He confirmed Bulgaria's solidarity with the struggle of the people of South Africa against racism and apartheid.

In conclusion Mr Grisha Filipov assured that the Government of Bulgaria will continue to be making efforts for the further consolidation of Bulgaro-Congolese relations.

In his reply Mr Louis Sylvain Goma emphasized that it is one and the same ideal that inspires the Congolese and Bulgarian peoples and guides the actions of the two countries' governments--the building of a society of justice and social progress, working successfully for the establishment of a social order excluding all forms of domination and exploitation.

Emphasizing that this can become possible only in the conditions of security and understanding among all people, he expressed his concern over the present international situation.

The Congo's prime minister said: "Under imperialist influence a tense situation is being set in the world, which is detrimental to peaceful co-existence and detente. We should not doubt that it is a question of moves launched by imperialism aiming at putting an end to the liberation struggles in Latin American, the Middle East and in South Africa, as well as at slowing down the economic, social and cultural development of the third world peoples and of all other exploited peoples."

He emphasized that the overt backing being extended by the imperialist forces to the South African Republic stimulates the racist regime in Pretoria in its aggressive acts against the frontline countries. The recent barbarous attack of the South African troops on Angola's territory has evoked the indignation of the CC of the Congolese Labor Party and of the Congolese Government, which have reaffirmed prompted by this, their absolute backing to the Angolan people and to the just cause of the people of Namibia worthily respresented by SWAPO.

Mr Louis Sylvain Goma emphasized: "All crises which shake the third world and most of all Africa, are but undeniable proof of the new and aggressive strategy of imperialism towards destabilization and return to colonialism."

Dwelling on Bulgaro-Congolese relations, he pointed out that the contacts at different levels being maintained by the two countries and the numerous agreements are specific evidence for the common desire of Bulgaria and the Congo to consolidate their relations of friendship and cooperation.

COMMUNICATIONS AGREEMENT SIGNED WITH IRAQ

AU221230 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Text] A cooperation agreement between Bulgarian Radio and the Main Administration for Radio and Television of the Republic of Iraq was signed today. On the Bulgarian side, the agreement was signed by [name indistinct], deputy director general of Bulgarian Radio, and on the Iraqi side by [name indistinct], director general of the Iraqi Main Administration for Radio and Television. The agreement seeks to deepen and expand the existing (?friendly) relations and to exchange various materials connected with the national holidays of the two countries, anniversaries and other developments. It also includes (?daily broadcasts) of events connected with the sociopolitical life, industry, agriculture, science, culture and sports, as well as musical, artistic performances and others.

An agreement and a working protocol on cooperation for 1981-1983 between Bulgarian Television and the Iraqi Main Administration for Radio and Television was also signed today. The document was signed by Ivan Slavkov, director general of Bulgarian Television, and by [name indistinct], director general of the Iraqi Main Administration for Radio and Television. The bilateral cooperation provides for an exchange of television films, joint film productions, meetings, cultural and other broadcasts. This document also provides for the broadcasting of television films devoted to the 1,300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state, the 100th anniversary of Georgi Dimitrov's birth, the "Banner of Peace Movement" and to the national holidays of the two countries.

BRIEFS

TANCHEV TO THE NETHERLANDS--A BNAU [Bulgarian National Agrarian Union] delegation, headed by Petur Tanchev, secretary of the BNAU Permanent Board and first deputy chairman of the State Council, left for the Netherlands today at the invitation of the Democrats '66 Party and the Political Radical Party. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 19 Sep 81 AU]

PZPR 'DETERMINED STAND' APPRECIATED; TU SCORED

Workers Expect Action

LD222304 Prague in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1630 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Excerpt] Examining the situation in Poland, Radio Prague's analyst Stefan Babiak points out that the recent appeal issued by Poland's United Workers' Party and the attitude taken by the government have been fostering the activity of people who disagree with policies pursued by the Solidarity union, who expect the authorities to take a resolute stance against forces of subversion and counterrevolution.

Working people in Poland appreciate the determined stand recently taken by the party and government. Now they are expecting no less determined action which is necessary in the process of repulsing the counterrevolutionary onslaught. The fact should be mentioned that this onslaught does not jeopardize the interests of the Polish people alone, but also the interests of the entire socialist community. The urgent call for action against subversive elements is highly topical.

TRYBUNA LUDU Cited

LD221848 Prague CTK in English 1728 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Text] Warsaw, 22 Sep (CETEKA correspondent)--The first part of the "Solidarity" congress clearly exposed the aims of the union's leaders, the Polish paper TRYBUNA LUDU said today. It stressed that the congress was not devoted to the strategy of struggle for workers' interests but to the strategy of struggle for power, struggle with socialism and the party, with Poland's social system and bonds of alliance. The daily recalled that one of the most active "Solidarity" leaders Jacek Kuron has even stated that three monopolies of power--organizational, informational and decision-making--had been broken in Poland which is, according to him, a significant factor of the decay of economic, social and political life.

By various leaflets and bulletins, "Solidarity" seeks to create an impression as if it were the only force in the country able to do anything--all what is done by the government is bad. According to "Solidarity", the struggle for higher wages as well as for free Saturdays was a "victory." However, it must be recalled that the "success" concerning higher wages triggered off the inflationary spiral, and that the "struggle" for free Saturdays brought about decreasing offer of goods on the market, the daily said.

It is neither the party Politburo nor the government, nor the bodies of people's power which threaten the society and aim at confrontation, the daily said stressing that such confrontation is sought, contrary to the class interests of the working people, by a group of stubborn anticommunists making use of their myth of "omnipotence" and putting obstacles in the way of common sense.

MLADA FRONTA VIEWS SOLIDARITY ACTIVITIES IN RADOM

AU221945 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 21 Sep 81 p 3

[Michal Havran article: "Poland: Strike Pistols"]

[Text] Radom is a minor town in the south of Poland. It has become better known recently because the local "Solidarity" branch is particularly active there. In the past few days a strike of the city communications workers was organized by "Solidarity" in Radom. Out of 100 buses, 15 were on the streets to maintain traffic on the most essential routes. The other employees succumbed to the demagogic pressure of "Solidarity" and went on strike.

I arrived in town on the very day of the aforementioned strike. It was to start at 1000 in the morning. But 1000, 1100 and 1200 passed and it became evident only later that "Solidarity" had kept the hour of the strike's beginning secret. Finally the strike broke out at 1700 allegedly to achieve greater "effect." I discussed the strike with several people, as well as the so-called events in Radom in 1976 in general in the course of which certain groups "responded" to the prepared price increases by robbing stores and opposing the people's power. The Radom "Solidarity" has made a case out of these events, and demands that those people who had committed criminal acts be "rehabilitated." It is true that the government has refused to discuss matters for which no evidence was offered, but "Solidarity" decided that at least some political capital must be extracted from this case. The strike was organized in such a manner that the members of the PZPR and the Industrial Branch Trade Unions were placed on the first shift, and the afternoon was left to Solidarity's "own" people. Fifteen busses operated, however. But even this strike was not enough for "Solidarity." What did it care that it paralyzed life in the town and vicinity, that people could not reach their work on time, that mothers with children missed connections to their homes. "Solidarity" hypocritically demands sacrifices from everybody and blames the government for the chaos and tension.

Most likely the Radom "Solidarity" also wanted to improve its "reputation" by new strike actions. During the 2 days without newspapers, when the printers were on strike, some papers were published despite incredible pressure by "Solidarity." At the Radom Voivodship PZPR Committee I was presented with a copy of a newspaper, an extraordinary combination of SLOWO LUDU and ZYCIE RADOMSKE. A readers' poll was published on its front page. Wieclaw Macierzynski, a scientific worker in Radom, stated in this poll: I regard the "day without newspapers" as a step which is typically political. In this case "Solidarity" has overstepped the limits of trade union activities. In no civilized state does the right exist to block the entrance to a state-owned enterprise, as we have seen on the television news, nor is what happened in front of the SLOVO POLSKE building in Warsaw right. That building is a large combine where most of the central newspapers and periodicals are printed and during the strike days "Solidarity" acted with the downright brazenness of a capitalist owner there.

But forces exist in Poland which are helping the country get out of the crisis, forces that are searching for a way out of the present catastrophic state of the country. On the same day on which "Solidarity" raged in Radom, an important meeting of Polish enterprise representatives took place at Ostrowec Swetokrzyski, only 80 kms from Radom. The large hall of the Young Miner's House at the Nowotki metallurgical plant was crammed to capacity. Many people failed to get in and listened in the corridors where loudspeakers had been installed. Even on the streets in front of the building, people were listening to the contributions to the debate. Problems were discussed openly and so were difficulties, and heaps of criticism came down on "Solidarity," on an organization which by its activity complicates the situation not only at workplaces but in virtually the entire state. It speaks only of rights and completely ignores duties.

It was also discussed that in many towns people are being dismissed from work because they refuse to join "Solidarity." The meeting of the representatives of Industrial Branch Trade Unions was also attended by Albin Siwak, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo. He said that acts of violence were taking place in many enterprises. People who wish to work must defend themselves against physical attacks. Perhaps we are the only country in Europe, he said, and possibly even in the world, where the law is not on the side of the citizens who want to multiply the wealth of their country by their work. It is clear that if no coal is extracted, the people may really freeze in their homes this winter. Who permitted hundreds of state-owned cars to consume state fuel at the time of the blockade of Marszalkowa Street in Warsaw? How is it possible, in broad daylight, that the posting of slogans, such as "the goverment's program, a program of hunger," is permitted? Is it possible to place the burden of crisis on one section of the population while permitting another to exploit this crisis?

PRESS SUMS UP POLISH DEVELOPMENTS, RESPONSES

AU221834 [Editorial Report] Czechoslovak dailies on 17-21 September carry reports and commentaries on developments in Poland and the reaction to them in other socialist countries.

Prague VECERNI NOVINY in Czech on 17 September on page one carries a 200-word "JV" dispatch, entitled "Protests and Indignation: Prague Working People on 'Solidarity's' Counterrevolutionary Message," reporting on the meeting of a workers' collective of the ZPA Kosir plant at which the Solidarity appeal was denounced. The dispatch adds that the crew of the Prague furniture sales enterprise pointed out in its resolution that "in the light of current events, we particularly clearly realize the important tasks of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement in the field of ideological-educational work."

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 19 September on page seven carries a 100-word CTK dispatch, entitled "'Solidarity' Continues To Spread Anarchy," noting that despite all PZPR and government appeals, Solidarity continues spreading anarchy and threatens new strikes, this time in plants at Pila. On the same page RUDE PRAVO carries a 150-word "OZ" dispatch from Sofia, entitled "Article in RABOTNICHESKO DELO," reporting on an article, published by that paper on Friday, denouncing the Solidarity appeal, issued by the Gdansk congress.

Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech on 19 September on page one carries a 260-word CTK dispatch from Prague, entitled "More Protests Against the Gdansk 'Appeal': We Do Not Care for Such Advice," quoting from the statement by Tyniste Nad Orlici central agricultural technical enterprise director Karel Cerny who denounces the Solidarity appeal and notes that "we know what 'Solidarity's' ideas are and what interests it defends. We saw this for ourselves 13 years ago."

Prague PRACE in Czech on 19 September on page three carries a 250-word unattributed report entitled "Czechoslovak Trade Unionists Denounce the Act of 'Solidarity': They Will Not Wreck Our Unity," which reports on and quotes from the statements of Czechoslovak working people denouncing the "appeal to the peoples of Eastern Europe," and expressing the hope that the Polish comrades will muster enough strength to cope with the "Solidarity" subversionists.

Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 21 September on page three carries a 200-word unattributed report, entitled "Poland: Voices in Defense of Socialism," listing Polish party organizations and plant collectives endorsing the statement of the PZPR Central Committee and Polish Council of Ministers on the situation in Poland. The report notes that "the leaders of some provincial and enterprise branches of 'Solidarity' have adopted an entirely different position toward the statement of the Polish party-state organs." These leaders describe the document as "an attempt to provoke society," as an "intimidation of the Polish people with the use of violence and internecine war," as an "act against trade unionism [svaz] and the entire people," and they maintain in part that the statement of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo about an increase in the counterrevolutionary threat is based on "unfounded facts." They also maintain that the resolutions of the first round of "Solidarity" are "not of a political nature."

Prague PRACE in Czech on 21 September on page two carries a 480-word CTK report from Warsaw and Moscow, entitled "The Polish Public Supports the Statement of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo: Voices in Defense of Socialism," listing various Polish plants whose crews are endorsing the statement of the Polish party-state leadership on the situation in Poland. The report notes that the statement has also elicited support from the Polish People's Army, as envinced by numerous letters published by ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI. The Moscow dispatch sums up an article, published by the CPSU Central Committee periodical PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN, attacking antisocialist elements in Poland.

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 21 September on page four carries an unattributed 100-word dispatch from Budapest entitled "The Plans of the Class Enemies," reporting from an article, published by the Hungarian trade union daily NEPSZAVA on Saturday, which criticizes Solidarity for making judgments on the Hungarian People's Republic without proper knowledge of the facts.

Bratislava ROLNICKE NOVINY in Slovak on 21 September on page two carries a 240-word CTK report from Bratislava, entitled "Resolute Denunciation of 'Solidarity's Activity: Protest Resolution," which quotes passages from a letter from 71 socialist labor brigades noting that "the 'Solidarity' leaders, with false and popular slogans under the pretext of the struggle against shortcomings in supplies and the national economy, have won over a great number of workers and peasants," and are now causing anarchy and chaos in the country. The letter blames "Solidarity" for having caused the grave crisis of the Polish national economy and "the sufferings of millions of Polish working people and their dependents."

HAIG'S GENERAL ASSEMBLY SPEECH CRITICIZED

LD221304 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1030 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Pavol Hovorka commentary]

[Text] Yesterday's speech by Gen Alexander Haig, U.S. secretary of state, during the general debate of the 36th UN General Assembly, was anticipated by the world agencies with appropriate tension because a new standpoint of the U.S. administration on the current international situation was expected. Pavol Hovorka assesses the U.S. secretary of state's speech in the following commentary:

General Haig's speech, which was 125 pages long, pointed unequivocally at what the Reagan administration regards as the prime objective of its foreign policy: above all, to present itself as a protector of international order. While he did not fail to single out the threat stemming from so-called international aggression, at the same time he made it clear his administration regards as aggressors the Soviet Union and the Vietnamese Democratic [as heard] Republic. Also, he again pointed out that the talks on arms limitations must allegedly be linked to other issues, which means those which would compel the interlocutors in the talks to respect American foreign political views.

In this connection, in order to win the sympathies of the developing states, Haig gave a list of all that the United States will do to encourage the economic development of the third world. Although it is well known what kind of negative stance the American administration maintains toward Arab interests and the rights of the Palestinians, Haig asserted that the United States allegedly has a sincere interest in attaining a lasting peace in the Middle East, and that it wants to share--with no lesser interest--in the talks on the independence of Namibia. At the same time, it is known that the U.S. openly supports the South African regime and that on several occasions it prevented the adoption of sanctions against the South African Republic in the Security Council.

Haig did not fail to speak up openly against import barriers and in support of the free international trade system, in which the American administration confirmed that it assumed the right to reign according to its own notions, which enables it to introduce such restrictions that suit it best. At the same time, he indicated that in the economic sphere the United States will discriminate against every country that provides assistance to the national liberation movements.

PRAGUE NOTES, CRITICIZES REAGAN LETTER TO BREZHNEV

LD231012 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0730 GMT 23 Sep 81

[Text] U.S. President Ronald Reagan has sent a letter to Leonid Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. The text of the letter has not been made public.

However according to the U.S. State Department spokesman, President Reagan stated in the letter that he was willing to discuss all questions and even allegedly to look for ways of curtailing nuclear arms. From further information the spokesman provided to newsmen in New York it transpired that Reagan's letter basically repeated his well-known position--causing greater international tension and seeking to blame this on the Soviet Union.

HUSAK RECEIVES USSR AMBASSADOR BOTVIN 22 SEP

LD221255 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1200 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Text] Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republi received Aleksandr Botvin, Soviet ambassador to Czechoslovakia, in Prague today. In a cordial and friendly conversation they examined some issues concerning cooperation between both fraternal parties and countries.

SOVIET AVIATION MINISTER DEPARTS: AGREEMENT SIGNED

LD221018 Prague International Service in Czech and Slovak 0800 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Text] Ivan Silayev, Soviet minister of aviation industry, has ended his visit to Czechoslovakia. During his visit he signed an intergovernmental agreement on mutual deliveries of machinery, equipment and complete units, which creates prerequisites for the further development of the Czechoslovak aircraft industry and the modernization of its manufacturing base.

URBAN HOLDS TALKS WITH NICARAGUAN INDUSTRY MINISTER

LD221552 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0000 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Text] Bohumil Urban, minister of foreign trade, and Emilio Baltodano, minister of industry, had talks on the development of economic cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Nicaragua in Prague yesterday. The guest is heading a Nicaraguan government delegation which is in Czechoslovakia for an official visit which is to last several days.

PRAGUE AKTIV DISCUSSES CPCZ CONGRESS TASKS

LD221506 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Text] The tasks pertaining to ideological, political and educational work in implementing the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress and of the city party conference were on the agenda of an ideological aktiv of Prague communists held in the Palace of Culture in Prague today. Bohumil Nemec, secretary of the Prague city party committee, stressed in his address that only the consistent explanation and implementation of the party's policy, unity, high demands and responsibility in party work guarantee the fulfillment of the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress. He said that throughout our ideological work we must never lose sight of the fact that the authority of the party in society, the confidence of the working people in its policy, is not given absolutely and does not emerge automatically from the leading role of the party in society, but the party acquires it especially by its work, openness, critical approach and the ability to act, above all, with respect to the work and life of the people. Comrade Bohumil Nemec then stressed the need for close links between ideological work and the solution of economic problems.

Milos Vejvoda, deputy foreign minister, spoke of the current complicated international situation. He pointed especially to the dangerous policy pursued by reactionary circles in the United States and in Western Europe; he highlighted the peace initiative of the USSR and the other socialist countries which corresponds to the vital interests of the absolute majority of the world's population.

REINHOLD, POLISH MILITARY OFFICIALS MEET

LD221640 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1514 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Text] Berlin, 22 Sep (ADN)--On Tuesday Col Gen Wolfgang Reinhold, GDR deputy defense minister and chief of the Air Force and Air Defense Command, met for a working discussion with the commander of the Polish National Air Defense Forces, Division Gen Longin Lozowicki, and the commander of the Air Force Command, Division Gen Tadeusz Krepski. The talks, which took place at the headquarters of the National People's Army Air Force and Air Defense Command and which were characterized by the sense of responsibility for the safeguarding of airspace, centered on the continued planned cooperation between the air forces and air defenses of the two fraternal armies within the framework of the Warsaw Pact. The two generals also exchanged experiences concerning the guaranteeing of a continual high level of combat power and readiness within the individual services of the two armies.

The generals could see for themselves the high state of combat readiness of the flying units of the National People's Army and the Polish Army during a visit to joint training centers in the north of the GDR. In conversations with the generals, the pilots, technicians and mechanics of both armies gave assurances of their firm determination to carry out with honor every combat order in order to ensure the reliable defense of socialist achievements.

'DISILLUSIONMENT' WITH SOLIDARITY REPORTED

Disappointment Cited

LD230814 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0533 GMT 23 Sep 81

[Text] Berlin, 23 Sep (ADN)--"The political atmosphere in Poland is becoming more explosive day by day. The counterrevolution is making a frontal attack on socialist state power. Since their Gdansk congress, the 'Solidarity' leaders have openly and publicly worked for a takeover of power." This is noted by NEUES DEUTSCHLAND today in a detailed report by its Warsaw correspondent.

It quotes numerous letters and statements by Polish workers who ask: When will our party and state leadership finally realize that one must not talk with the enemy but must fight him with every means available?

The correspondent draws attention to, among other things, the fact that Poland's mass media are to a considerable extent already infiltrated by "Solidarity" people and that the U.S. firm of IBM and other capitalist firms supplied the Gdansk "Solidarity" congress with technical equipment valued at $160,000.

In the struggle for state power, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND writes, the counterrevolution is banking on manipulated new elections to the Sejm and national councils, held in an atmosphere of blackmail and terror. Throughout the country there are already paramilitary gangs, formed by "Solidarity" as "order groups", which are harassing those who are willing to work. Obviously, the leaders of "Solidarity" are no longer so certain of the appeal of its demagogy.

Voices of disillusionment and growing realization are more and more frequently to be heard in Poland now, even if often only among friends, the correspondent notes. "Not a few workers are shocked by the wild anti-Soviet attacks by counterrevolutionary spokesmen and the shameful desecration of the graves of Soviet soldiers who gave their lives to liberate Poland from fascist occupation. That is why the rally at the weekend of war veterans and soldiers of the Warsaw Kosciusko Division, who declared their determination to defend socialism and Poland's independence, met with approval and hope."

"The present situation in our neighboring country is characterized by the counterrevolutionary forces' general attack on socialist Poland. At the same time a growing readiness among the people to defend the achievements of socialism cannot be ignored," the paper writes. "All the more incomprehensible to the supporters of socialism in Poland--and not only there--is the continuing hesitation of the leadership to move at long last from words to action and to rely in its consistent struggle against the sworn enemies of socialism and the Polish nation on all the sound forces of the people."

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND concludes by raising the question posed by many Polish citizens: "When--and this is really now the question of all questions in Poland--will the country's leadership finally place itself resolutely at the head of the consistent struggle against the counterrevolutionary danger and for socialism in the Polish People's Republic?"

Polish Army Condemns Solidarity

LD221840 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1351 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Text] Warsaw, 22 Sep (ADN)--Members of the Polish People's Army over the last few days of meetings in their units, in schools, institutes and in Army factories have been protesting against the Solidarity-inspired anarchistic and counterrevolutionary activities. As TRYBUNA LUDU reports, they expressed their full support for the party and the people's power.

At a meeting in the "Warsaw" Air Force regiment a resolution was passed which, according to TRYBUNA LUDU, says that it is high time "to stop the development of anarchy." The soldiers stressed: "As soldiers of the Polish Army we will defend socialism as we do the independence of the fatherland. We fulfill every task we are ordered to carry out." Pointing out that the brotherhood in arms with the Soviet Army was founded in the struggle against fascism, the resolution said: "We allow this friendship to be neither destroyed nor impugned."

Conscripts, professional soldiers, veterans of World War II, workers' delegations from factories and young people took part in the meeting. As ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI reports, at the meetings, the participants resisted all attempts to undermine the foundations of the social order in socialist Poland. They opposed the efforts of extremist forces to question the fraternal alliances which bind Poland to the Soviet Union and the other socialist states.

Solidarity Seeking Power

LD230880 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1605 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Report by Warsaw correspondent Klaus Franke]

[Text] During these autumn days of 1981 it is becoming abundantly clear that the aim of the leaders of the Solidarity organization which was set up 12 months ago is no less than to seize power and destroy the socialist structure of the People's Republic. Proof that this is the objective of the counterrevolution has been available in plenty since last autumn, but the final touch has now been provided by the first national congress of Solidarity in Gdansk at the beginning of this month and which is to be resumed at the end of this week.

At their gathering, the Solidarity officials formulated with complete frankness their aims of further undermining socialism in Poland, acting as the tools of the imperialist campaign of subversion against socialism. In order to transform the country as suggested in the counterrevolutionary program cited in Gdansk, an organization striking, as Walesa said, with lightning speed was set up with real generals at its head. Solidarity (?has now even stated) that it has the necessary people to form a government should the need arise. Moreover, Rulewski, Solidarity's regional leader of Bydgoszcz, said: We must now take over the enterprises; if we fight against any power we will force it to its knees. He made it perfectly clear that Solidarity sees itself as an oppositional, political-social movement.

On this point, there are no differences of principle in the counterrevolutionary camp. Differences of opinion on practical matters, Polish communists here emphasize, should not deceive anybody because it is precisely the most dangerous antisocialist forces who advise against openly resorting to large-scale violence because they count on making further use of the understanding and dialogue recently reemphasized by the leadership of the party and state, in order to gain even more positions of power. This is confirmed by recent statements by one of the leaders of the counterrevolutionary Social Self-Defense Committee [KOR], Kuron, who said that they are already in a position to seize power in the country. Small steps at the grass-roots level offer the least risks and are particularly effective for seizing power.

Meanwhile, Solidarity has been able to set up a country-wide news and information service operating with the most modern technical equipment. It (?disseminates) various Solidarity publications with an antisocialist thrust and slanders the USSR, the GDR and other socialist countries. These are printed without any serious obstacles being placed in its way, frequently in state enterprises. During recent weeks it has also become known that Solidarity has received from Western countries the necessary technical equipment to operate its own television transmitter. At the same time, Solidarity increased its so-called shock troops [kampftruppen] modelled on the Nazi storm troopers.

In the publicly-owned industry the transfer of decision-making functions to counter-revolutionary forces has begun behind a smokescreen of so-called self-administration. On the coast Solidarity officials have assumed the right to decide which Polish exports may leave the country and which may not. While the strikes and other antisocialist actions instigated by Solidarity during the past year have resulted in a catastrophic economic situation, the organization now exploits the situation which it has brought about, to fan the population's anger still further at the worsening supply situation. The adherents of socialism emphasize that the party and state authorities must not back down any further in the face of the general offensive launched by the counter-revolution. There can be no dialogue or understanding with anyone (?seeking) the deliberate destruction of the socialist state. Concessions to the enemy must be stopped.

SOVIET DELEGATION VISITS DRESDEN COMBINE

LD221548 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1300 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Excerpt] The Soviet government delegation, led by Guriy Marchuk, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, which is in the republic on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the start of scientific-technical cooperation between the GDR and the USSR visited the Mikroelektronik combine in Dresden today. In the research center the guests were briefed on the production of special technological equipment.

DEFENSE MINISTER HOFFMANN ATTENDS NAVAL TRAINING

AU212041 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19/20 Sep 81 pp 1, 2

[ADN dispatch: "Defense Minister Visits People's Navy: Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann Valued Combat Readiness"]

[Text] Rostock (ADN)--National Defense Minister Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, attended training maneuvers of rear service units of the National People's Navy on Friday.

He convinced himself of the high level of combat readiness and assessed the results achieved by the People's Navy in the 1980/81 training year as an important contribution to the struggle for fulfilling the class assignment of the 10th SED Congress. At the same time he acquainted himself with the service and living conditions of the professional soldiers and their dependents.

He was accompanied by Deputy Ministers of National Defense Col Gen Fritz Streletz, chief of the Main Staff of the National People's Army, and Adm Wilhelm Ehm, chief of the People's Navy, as well as by the representative of the commander in chief of the Combined Armed Froces of the Warsaw Pact member states to the National People's Army, Army Gen Ivan Shavrov.

HONECKER SPEAKS AT LUNCHEON FOR CPUSA'S GUS HALL

AU212107 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18 Sep 81 p 3

[State Council Chairman Erich Honecker's toast at the luncheon for Gus Hall on 17 September at the Unter Den Linden Palace in Berlin]

[Text] Dear Comrade Gus Hall. Dear Comrade Elizabeth-Mary Hall. Dear comrades.

After some time we are able to again welcome in our midst our close friend and fellow fighter, Comrade Gus Hall, general secretary of the Communist Party of the United States of America, [CPUSA] and his wife. I may say that we are very glad about this and welcome them very crodially.

Your visit, dear Comrade Gus Hall, affirms afresh the firm internationalist solidarity linking the communists of the GDR and the United States for many decades. With high regard and sympathy, the working people of our country follow your self-denying struggle which is particularly complicated under the conditions of a massive anticommunist incitement campaign in the center of world imperalism.

It is a well-known fact that the U.S. communists are proving courageous and inflexible fighters for peace, democracy and socialism. With Gus Hall as general secretary, Henry Winston as chairman and the other comrades of the party leadership, tested communists and enthusiastic internationalists are at the head of the vanguard of the U.S. workers class. Despite many political persecutions and reprisals they have always upheld and courageously defended our communist ideals.

The SED and CPUSA spare no effort to guarantee a future of peace and security for their peoples in accordance with the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

As you know, dear comrades, we had an exchange of views this morning. I reveal nothing new by telling you that this exchange of ideas on multilateral and bilateral questions showed complete agreement and confirmed that we are waging our struggle and steadfastly moving toward our common goals on the firm basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationaliam. I must say that I was deeply impressed by the analysis given by Comrade Gus Hall of the present situation of the United States and the policy of the Reagan administration. On the strength of what he said, we renewed our optimism that there is nothing so tough in the world that it cannot be overcome by a communist party which is closely linked with the people's masses. I can imagine that the students of the Higher Party School and the scientists who work there are looking forward to the lecture which Gus Hall will give there.

As I have mentioned before, our exchange of views centered on securing world peace and the struggle against the arms race and for disarmament. In view of the aggravation of the international situation and the resulting transition to a course of confrontation, which has been caused by the most reactionary forces of imperialism, first and foremost the United States, we both regard as the first and supreme duty of communists to do everything to preserve the world from a nuclear disaster. In this connection we take into account the historical experiences.

Today, socialism and the forces of peace throughout the world are incomparably stronger than in the past and have the strength to foil the aggressive plans of imperialism. The peace activities of the Soviet Union, the GDR and the other socialist countries concentrate on ending the arms race and the danger of war.

Together with untold millions of people throughout the world, we affirm the principle that Europe and the world do not need new U.S. nuclear medium-range missiles and neutron weapons. Therefore we strongly oppose NATO's intensified arms race policy. An intensified arms race does not mean greater security but, on the contrary, a step toward a third world war. Serious and businesslike negotiations on the reduction of armaments, especially of nuclear armaments, should be started without delay in order to make the lives of people more secure and to initiate a change toward disarmament.

Dear Comrade Gus Hall! During your past stay in our country you said: "Everywhere here the pulse of the workers class can be felt." This has strengthened you in your certainty that the workers class and its party, and the entire GDR people, will reach their lofty goals. You can see with your own eyes that this certainly is proving true.

In a great creative mass movement the GDR working people are implementing the decisions of 10th SED Congress. The close trustful relationship which links party and people is the guarantee that we will continue to successfully shape the developed socialist society and live up to our responsibility in the struggle for peace and socialism. To do everything for the benefit of our people remains the fundamental concern of our party.

The indissoluble friendship with the Soviet Union and the firmly anchored position of the GDR within the socialist community are of fundamental importance for further strengthening our worker-peasant state. Together with the other member countries of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA, we adopt a resolute stance against the attempts of the imperialist class opponent to weaken our community and to undo the achievements of building socialism.

Dear comrades! Strengthening the unity of action of the communist and workers parties is a task of paramount importance for the joint struggle of all peace-loving people against the aggressive imperialist course.

The communists have always been the most ardent champions ofpeace. Today, too, they stand in the vanguard of this struggle. We are convinced that we make an important contribution to strengthening the international communist movement, the strongest political force of our time, by fraternal cooperation between the SED and CPUSA.

I ask you to raise your glass with and drink to,

The health and welfare of our Comrade Gus Hall and his wife, Elizabeth-Mary Hall,

To new successes of the CPUSA,

To the friendship between the SED and CPUSA,

To the securing of world peace and our common communist cause!

FISCHER ADDRESSES NY FOREIGN RELATIONS COUNCIL

AU222121 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18 Sep 81 p 5

[ADN report on Oskar Fischer, GDR minister of foreign affairs, speaking before the New York Council on Foreign Relations on 16 September]

[Text] New York, (ADN)--"For the GDR, there is nothing more important than peace. Preserving peace, now and in the future, is the aim of our actions." This was declared by Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer when he spoke on the GDR's foreign policy at the invitation of the New York Council on Foreign Relations on Wednesday evening. The council comprises about 2,000 politicians, scientists and well-known journalists. It is a leading discussion and research center for current international problems.

The GDR politician recalled that in recent history Europe has twice been the epicenter of worldwide convulsions and destruction. Now the European peoples have been living in peaceful coexistence for more than three and a half decades. This is the result of acting responsibly and sensibly weighing above all the approximate military balance between the USSR and the United States.

Oskar Fischer called the striving for military superiority over the Soviet Union and its allies an essential cause for the dangerously aggravating international situation. He warned against letting one's eyes be blurred by the misbelief in alleged military superiority, as this had put the machine of war into operation all too often in history.

The foreign minister stressed the GDR's efforts to defend the policy of detente and stabilize it in this decade by measures of military detente. Above all this requires the coming into force of SALT II as quickly as possible, and more far-reaching negotiations between the USSR and the United States on limiting strategic armaments and reducing nuclear confrontation in Europe. "This only requires political will, reason and realism," Oskar Fischer stated. The Soviet Union has affirmed its attitude to that through disarmament proposals.

The decision to deploy new missiles in West Europe and the decision on producing the neutron weapon are further unambiguous steps in advancing armaments and the upward arms spiral.

In the subsequent lively exchange of views, the GDR foreign minister stressed readiness for a reasonable dialogue and for manifold, mutually adventageous cooperation, which embodies the GDR concept for shaping relations with the United States. These relations develop all the more beneficially the more peace is secure and the global atmosphere healthy.

He said: Especially at a time of high international tension, a good relationship between our states can have a beneficial effect on the global situation. It is the firm will of the GDR to further develop and expand relations with the United States on the basis of equality and equal security as well as to mutual advantage and benefit. The GDR sees no reason for restraint.

BRIEFS

AID TO ETHIOPIA--A solidarity shipment from the GDR to Ethiopia left this evening on board a special INTERFLUG flight to Addis Ababa. The freight contains medicines, food, bedding and teaching materials. These goods, which are financed by donations, are destined for Ethiopian citizens who are moving from drought areas to climatically better areas. On the return flight some 100 young Ethiopians will be aboard the INTERFLUG plane, bound for the GDR, where they will receive training. In an interview the general secretary of the Solidarity Committee, Kurt Krueger, said that the people of the GDR were following every revolutionary success in Ethiopia with growing sympathy. In order to further this development, the African country recently received 200 tractors, diesel motors and large quantities of medicine. At present an agricultural machinery workshop was being set up in Ethiopia for which M6 million from the anti-imperialist solidarity account had been made available. [Text] [East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 2000 GMT 21 Sep 81 LD]

SOLIDARITY APPEAL INTERVENES IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS

AU221051 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 19 Sep 81 p 3

[Unattributed article: "About the Solidarity Congress"]

[Text] The Hungarian trade unions have not participated in the first round of the Solidarity congress--held in Gdansk--because the invitation came so late that it automatically precluded the possibility of participation.

Our country's organized working people awaited the congress with great interest. They expected the trade union to come out, following the tribulations of a year, in favor of the Polish working people and Polish society, and to participate in curbing the economic deterioration and in consolidating the socialist order of society, to contribute with a constructive work program to overcoming the crisis afflicting the Polish people.

Unfortunately, that was not the case. The congress failed to adopt a position in favor of reconciliation, rallying the creative forces and restoring order and tranquility, but raised to the status of the organization's official program what has only been demanded thus far by the groups opposing socialism, which take advantage of the justified dissatisfaction and abuse the trust of the workers' masses: complete disruption of the economy and society, establishment of political parties aimed against the workers' power and, in the last analysis, liquidation of the economic and social foundations of socialism and the wresting of Poland out of the socialist community.

The appeal issued at the congress "to all the working people of East Europe," which calls for following the Polish example and the "Establishment of free trade unions" and ensures the socialist countries' working people of support if they follow Solidarity's example (meaning, upsetting internal order, disrupting social discipline and preserving misery) has shocked the Hungarian working people.

The content and means of the Solidarity appeal are rare in the international workers movement, they are inconsistent with international trade union contacts. It is particularly insulting for the Hungarian trade unions and Hungarian society that the trade union movement and our country are perceived without a complete knowledge of our situaiton and activity, and conclusions drawn which we have heard only from our class enemies to date. The Solidarity appeal constitutes an intervention in the Hungarian society's internal affairs and, therefore, we reject it!

The authors of the appeal did not take the trouble to visit Hungary at least once on their numerous study tours, because their evaluation would be different if they knew our circumstances and activity. Up to the end of August this year, almost 1.5 million Polish citizens had visited our country. They are directly familiar with our situation and life. They have witnessed the efforts being made by our people for our country's prosperity. They have seen our economic and cultural results, the social conditions and political atmosphere under which our country's population is living. And the Hungarian organized working people are proud that they are participants in these successes.

It is generally known that the trade unions are class organizations that assume and fulfill international obligations. We expected the Solidarity congress to condemn the measures by the U.S. and British Governments brutally repressing workers' manifestations and the Reagan administration's aggressive international policy in preparation for a new war. We hoped that the congress would issue a message to the Third World, take up the cudgels to defend the working people of Africa and Latin America and demand the release of the imprisoned and persecuted trade union functionaries.

The Hungarian trade unions are respected both in our country and in the international workers movement. The work that has been done, our often difficult and complex struggle, which manifests itself in aiding the accomplishment of the objectives of the people's economy and protecting and representing our members' interests, consitute the foundation of that respect. Our movement is working in the knowledge that it is responsible to its members and the international trade union movement for its activity. We are continuing our quest for means through which we can work for the interests and benefits of our working people and the international workers class and can make our cooperation more fruitful.

We are operating under different conditions, but we are familiar with each other's work and follow it with attention throughout the world. For instance, we know that in the development of the crisis that has ensued in Poland, a considerable role was played, among other things, by the fact that the trade unions have not fulfilled their mission and have not accomplished their tasks. It would be reassuring also for the Hungarian working people if Solidarity struggled better and more effectively for socialist Poland and served more purposefully the true interests of its members and socialist revival in Poland.

We know also from our own historical experiences that the workers can only expect an improvement of their position through their work. The secure existence, tranquility and stable social and material conditions experienced in our country are the result of the strenuous work of millions of working people. Our own history also warns us that only the international workers movement can sincerely support and assist the workers. We do not know a single instance of the bourgeoisie's support for the workers class' struggle for advancement in a selfless and disinterested manner.

Solidarity is accusing our trade unions of not being free and independent. However, from whom and what should we be free and independent in a socialist society in which there is a workers' power? Should we be independent from the worker class that has created its own movement to represent and protect its interests, the trade unions? From the worker class that has shaken off capitalist rule and ascended to power? To be sure, we are functioning as an integral part of the workers' power, independently and freely, with the commitment and social responsibility that goes with participating in that power.

Under socialist conditions, opposition--for that is at issue in the Solidarity appeal--means opposition only to the workers' power, the true interests of the working masses, whereas we have struggled for a century for that power. And, when the workers class has come to power, at great sacrifice, should the trade unions turn against it? Whole interests would be served, whose interests would be expressed by such a trade union movement? If Solidarity had asked itself this question, if it would face the realities, then it would hardly have issued an appeal to the socialist countries' working people, turning against the cause and true interests of the workers class and instigating opposition to it.

The Solidarity leaders and congress delegates are not familiar with the work of the Hungarian trade unions and the circumstances of their functions. They are not aware of the fact that every political prerequisite and legal guarantee is ensured for the free and independent work of the trade unions.

We regard strike as a senseless measure under our conditions because one cannot gain by it the satisfaction of requirements whose material prerequisites are not otherwise at hand. At the most, a dwindling of material goods and an increasingly precarious existence can be caused by strikes.

Issues affecting the working people living from wages and salaries cannot be decided without the trade unions anywhere and at any forum in Hungary. Having the freedom to independently express their views and pursue their activity, the trade unions have their say, criticize, discuss and support or reject issues and proposals on the agenda without restraint. The trade unions' respect for the realities and a commitment to and responsibility for the fate of the workers' power manifest themselves in our country, for, no matter now loudly we proclaim our views, we could not achieve anything without being aware of the realities and handling them correctly.

It is precisely this attitude that ensures that our movement is being respected, the fact that we represent and express our members' current and long-term interests simultaneously. This is the position which we are adopting and according to which we are working.

We realize that we have not yet attained and have not exploited by any means the possibilities provided by a socialist society, but we stand with a good conscience before our members and the international trade union movement because we are working according to our ability and means for the interests of our members and international class brothers.

Our intentions have always been guided and continue to be guided by responsibility for the cause of socialism. We leave no room for doubts about that. We are modest combatants of the international workers and trade union movement. We cooperate with everyone who works for the unity of the trade union movement, human progress, the cause of socialism and the peace of the peoples of the world.

We have enumerated generally known facts and circumstances to make it clear: The Solidarity congress addressed its appeal to the wrong place. It has cost our trade unions a great deal of work, struggle and torment to come as far as to be able to serve the interests of our members and socialist fatherland at the present standard. We find it incomprehensible that Solidarity, which has barely been operating for a year, is issuing an appeal and dispensing suggestions in such a self-assured manner, as though it had a decade's string of success and a strong socialist workers' power behind it.

The Polish crisis is at a low point. During its one-year operation, Solidarity has hardly been able to claim any realistic successes in improving the situation, yet it advertises itself as an example to be followed. But what sort of an example should Solidarity be? What could we learn from it? How much has it advanced the workers class on the path leading out of the Polish crisis?

Unfortunately, lacking the modesty that is a natural trait of the workers movement and, especially, losing sight of the goal could have created the mood from which the appeal "to the working people of East Europe" was conceived, an appeal that is not backed by substance, or could it be that it speaks in favor of objectives removed from and contrary to socialism? If so, it must be stated clearly and unequivocally: The Hungarian trade unions will not be partners in it!

Our trade unions support any honest endeavor and intention aimed at overcoming the Polish crisis, strengthening the workers' power and socialism and augmenting our results. This aspiration has manifested itself at meetings of the Hungarian working people--workers, peasants and intellectuals--held in our country in recent days. We are convinced that the majority of the Polish workers, intellectuals and employees favor socialism. Their work and efforts can serve as a basis for overcoming the crisis, the economic and social problems. It would put the minds of the Hungarian working people to rest if their Polish class brothers found the path leading to a solution, a path consistent with the realities.

JOINT PARLIAMENTARY TALKS HELD WITH USSR

LD221132 Budapest MTI in English 1020 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Text] Budapest, 21 Sep (MTI)--Hungarian-Soviet parliamentary talks took place in Budapest on Monday.

The Hungarian parliamentary delegation was led by Antal Apro, president of the Hungarian National Assembly, and that of the Supreme Soviet by Eduard Shevardnadze, representative of the Council of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet, alternate member of the CPSU CC Political Committee and first secretary of the Communist Party of Georgia.

In the course of the meeting, marked by a friendly atmosphere, Antal Apro informed the guests about the results of socialist building in Hungary and Hungary's stand concerning important international issues.

Eduard Shevardnadze spoke about the latest economic, social and cultural achievements of the Soviet Union and the efforts made for safeguarding peace. The talks focused on further deepening the two peoples' friendship and developing cooperation between the Hungarian National Assembly and the Supreme Soviet. Eduard Shevardnadze, on behalf of the Supreme Soviet, invited a delegation of the Hungarian National Assembly to visit the Soviet Union.

LIBYA'S COLONEL MU'AMMAR AL-QADHDHAFI VISITS

22 Sep Arrival

LD221346 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 22 Sep 81

[By Gyoergy Onodi]

[Text] Col Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi arrived in Hungary today on an official friendly visit. He was met at the airport by Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Central Committee of the MSZMP and members of the Presidential Council, and Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council. The Libyan guest's official welcome will take place, as is now traditional, in front of the parliament building.

This is Colonel al-Qadhdhafi's second visit to Hungary. He was in Budapest in 1978. Pal Losonczi has paid an official visit to Libya and in 1974 Libyan Premier Jallud held talks in Hungary.

The two countries established diplomatic relations in 1967, but our bilateral relations began to especially develop after 1 September 1969 when the Libyan Army's progressive young officers led by Al-Qadhdhafi overthrew the monarchy. Since then, a series of bilateral agreements have been concluded. Of special importance among these is the agreement regulating economic cooperation. In 1980 the value of our exports to Libya was as high as $48 million; the turnover for 1981 is expected to be around $80 to $90 million.

Colonel al-Qadhdhafi's talks this time will certainly contribute to the further stabilization of the friendship and cooperation between the two peoples and to a faster and broader strengthening of our relations.

Official Reception

LD222032 Budapest MTI in English 1717 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Text] Budapest, 22 September (MTI)--Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the Libyan revolution, who arrived on an official friendly visit to Hungary on Tuesday, and his party were officially received in front of the parliament building.

Present at the reception were Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee, Pal Losonczi, president of the Hungarian Presidential council, Rezso Trautmann, vice-president of the Presidential Council, Jozsef Marjai, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, Janos Berecz, head of department of the HSWP Central Committee, Army General Lajos Czinege, defense minister, Jeno Vancsa, minister of agriculture and food, Peter Veress, minister of foreign trade, Janos Nagy, state secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as well as other members of the Presidential Council and the government, and senior personalities of Hungary's political, state, and social life. Present also were Balint Gal, Hungarian ambassador to Libya, and Mohamed 'Ali Zintani, secretary of the People's Committee of Libya's People's Bureau in Budapest. Heads of several diplomatic missions in Budapest also attended the event.

Upon Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi's arrival in the square the Libyan and Hungarian anthems were played. Then Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi and Janos Kadar inspected the guard of honour. The guests were greeted with bunches of flowers and the leaders of the Hungarian and Libyan public life were introduced to each other. Following this, Colonel al-Qadhdhafi greeted the heads of diplomatic missions present to welcome him. The opening ceremony was concluded with the parade march of the guard of honour. Then the guests accompanied with their hosts here taken to their residence.

Talks With Kadar

LD222044 Budapest MTI in English 1735 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Text] Budapest, 22 September (MTI)--The official Hungarian-Libyan talks started in the parliament building, Budapest, on Tuesday.

The Hungarian negotiating party, led by Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee, included Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council, Jozsef Marjai, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, Janos Berecz, head of Foreign Affairs Department of the HSWP CC, Army General Lajos Czinege, defence minister, Jeno Vancsa, minister of agriculture and food, Peter Veress, minister of foreign trade, Janos Nagy, state secretary at the Ministry of Foreign, Affairs, and Balint Gal, Hungarian ambassador to Libya.

Members of the Libyan delegation, headed by Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the Libyan revolution, were Abdol 'Ali al-Obeidi, secretary of General People's Committee (GPC) Bureau for External Relations, Foreign Secretary Dr 'Ali 'Abd as-Salem al-Tukayki, Musa Abu Furaywah, secretary of the GPC for planning, Bashir Judah, secretary of the GPC for land reclamation and land reform, Ibrahim Betad, secretary of the Libyan Information Office, 'Abd Errazak Shnib, head of the European Department of the GPC Bureau for External Relations, and Mohamed 'Ali Zintani, secretary of the People's Committee of the Libyan People's Bureau in Budapest.

In the course of the talks Janos Kadar informed the guests on Hungary's economic and social development, the experiences of socialist building and the implementation of the resolutions of the 12th HSWP Congress. Colonel al-Qadhdhafi spoke about the achievements scored since the victory of the revolution of September 1, 1969, the measures aimed at the economic, cultural and social ascent of the Libyan people, as well as the efforts for involving masses into running the country. They surveyed the major issues of the international situation, with special attention to the Middle East problem. They stated with satisfaction that the relations [word indistinct] two countries developed, and emphasized that they make further efforts to expand them. They expressed wish to improve many-sided cooperation, with special attention to strengthening economic relations.

JOZEF MARJAI RETURNS FROM VISIT TO CSSR

LD221142 Budapest MTI in English 1031 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Text] Budapest, 21 Sep (MTI)--Monday evening, Jozef Marjai, vice chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, returned from Prague, where he attended the opening ceremony of the Hungarian Economic and Technical Days, and had talks with Rudolf Rohlicek, Czechoslovak deputy prime minister.

LAZAR GREETS BELIZE LEADER ON INDEPENDENCE

LD221228 Budapest MTI in English 1046 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Text] Budapest, 22 Sep (MTI)--Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, sent a telegram to Premier George C. Price of Belize congratulating him on the occasion of his country's winning independence.

JARUZELSKI RECEIVES SOVIET GENERAL GRIBKOV

LD222020 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Text] Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of national defense, has received Gen Anatoliy Gribkov, chief of staff of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact states, who is in Poland.

In a friendly atmosphere, there was discussion of problems of training and combat readiness of the detached troops which form part of the Joint Armed Forces. Others who participated in the meeting were Gen Florian Siwicki, chief of the General Staff of the Polish Army; Gen Eugeniusz Molczyk, chief inspector of training; and Gen Afanasiy Shcheglov, representative of the Supreme Command of the Joint Armed Forces to the Polish Army.

JARUZELSKI, BAYBAKOV DISCUSS ECONOMIC RELATIONS

LD221706 Warsaw PAP in Russian 1500 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Text] Warsaw, 22 Sep (PAP)--Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, is participating in negotiations that have begun in the Council of Ministers building between Polish officials and the Soviet Government delegation that has come to Poland for a few days on a working visit to discuss very important matters of economic cooperation. The Soviet delegation is headed by Nikolay Baybakov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, while the Polish side is led by Zbginiew Madej, deputy chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers.

Stockholm Views Visit

LD221936 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1600 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Text] Here is an item about the tense situation with regard to Poland and the Soviet Union. Soviet Deputy Planning Chief [as heard] Nikolay Baybakov arrived in Poland today to discuss the Polish economy. But, according to our correspondent in Warsaw, it seems as if the Soviet Union has already decided on its line: economic war instead of a military invasion. From the beginning of the year the Soviet Union will practically cut off all raw material exports to Poland. The exception will be gas and oil exports, which will be reduced to a third of the present deliveries. According to our correspondent, this information was given to a Polish delegation which visited Moscow 10 days ago, but the information has been kept secret until now. Here is Mika Larsson in Warsaw:

[Begin recording] The Soviet information has not been published by the Polish mass media. One explanation is probably anxiety over the fact that the already strong anti-Soviet emotions in the country might increase further and make the government and the party powerless. The Soviet Union is already sufficiently irritated, and the Polish leadership simply cannot take a risk that popular criticism will flare up again. The Polish leaders certainly hope that during Baybakov's visit they can make the Russians change their attitude. Their own coal production continues to decrease, and forecasts by the Polish Planning Commission's own experts indicate a catastrophe.

Attempts to tempt people into the mining industry and to tempt miners to work overtime through extensive privileges have met with uncompromising opposition from Solidarity, which accuses the government of trying, through privileges, to split the working class and force workers to work 7 days a week.

To an outside observer the situation seems desperate. At the end of September the autumn arrives and winter awaits. What the leadership fears is a winter when the people--because of the food shortage--will be compelled to stand in the severe cold for hours for the absolute necessities of life in order to then return home to cold apartments.

Well-informed observers say that this would be something like a time bomb--if the feared civil war has not broken out by then.

According to well-informed, mutually-agreeing sources, the party and government have decided to limit themselves, until the next stage of the Solidarity congress, to an increasing war of words against what is called the movement's political activists, who, according to the party today, have taken over the leadership in Solidarity with the purpose of overthrowing the system. But I have been told that if the concluding stage of the congress confirms the direction of the first stage, then only confrontation remains, if necessary, with weapons, and inevitably an open civil war.

It is said that last week the party leadership was prepared to declare a state of emergency in Poland, but backed down in the face of demands by other political parties to give Solidarity a last chance. The last chance is thus to be the next stage of the congress which begins on Saturday. [end recording]

CZYREK CALLS TALKS WITH HAIG 'FRANK, USEFUL'

LD222240 Warsaw PAP in English 2106 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Text] New York, 22 Sep (PAP)--The chairman of the Polish delegation to the 36th session of the UN General Assembly, Poland's Foreign Minister Jozef Czyrek, conferred with the U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig in New York on questions of Polish-American bilateral relations and issues connected with the development of mutually (?favorable) economic cooperation. Some international issues were also touched upon. The meeting was attended by the Polish Ambassador to Washington Romuald Spasowski.

After the meeting Minister Czyrek told newsmen that the talks were frank and useful.

The Polish delegation leader also met with the Chairman of the UN General Assembly Ismat Kittani for a talk on issues taken up by the UN session and current international problems.

WARSAW NOTES REAGAN LETTER SENT TO BREZHNEV

LD231010 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0830 GMT 23 Sep 81

[Text] The press agencies take note of the news concerning the letter which the President of the United States, Ronald Reagan, has sent to Leonid Brezhnev. Its contents have not been made public; nevertheless, it is known that Reagan expressed his readiness to establish stable and constructive relations between the United States and the Soviet Union.

OLSZOWSKI SPEECH ADDRESSES PRESENT SITUATION

LD222336 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2020 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Speech by Stefan Olszowski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo--live or recorded; date and place not given]

[Text] Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. Social tensions have recently been growing like an avalanche, from week to week, sometimes from day to day. Thousands of meetings are taking place in the country. The Central Committee every day gets hundreds of resolutions and letters which express great alarm at the situation. They are written from various standpoints but they have a common anxiety about what is happening in the country. People, tired and harassed, are asking more and more dramatic questions: What will happen in Poland? What will the end to all this be? Some people are even asking if there will be a civil war in Poland.

The everyday difficulties are causing concern and annoyance. We are all wondering: Does it have to be like this? We are a country of real socialism which exists specifically at a defined place in Europe and at a point of development in a system defined by history. There is nothing more important than this: not to permit anyone to undertake adventurism without taking this into account. He who wants to break Poland away from the socialist system, let him remember that in this way he pushes the nation into the anyss of turmoil, whose end he himself does not know and cannot know; but only that this must bring great damage to all consolidated structures of political, spiritual and social life.

Today, in the face of a real economic, and at the same time social, danger, and also of political activities striving to switch the orientation of our history toward the West, from socialism and not toward socialism, it is high time to stop the cold war against the authorities and for power.

The faster we do so, the better we will all understand that this struggle will ruin the nation. But this need not happen at all. Transformations which penetrate ever deeper virtually all spheres of civic life should be exploited to build domestic order in socialist Poland and for the reformation of its life. This is needed most of all. Above all we need the unity of workers, of party and nonparty patriots.

We fully realize how tough life is for everybody. We also know that even greater difficulties may occur, in particular during the winter regarding the heating of dwellings, shortages of food and work. But is this inevitable?

We can all prevent it when we realize that by protecting social calm in the country, by supporting the constitutional authorities of the state, we are protecting the existence of the nation and its future. Although this will sound very banal, I will say it: In the first place we must help ourselves. Polish industrial enterprises, mines, and modern economic centers have not disappeared from the face of the earth. There has been no cataclysm which has destroyed the reserves of skilled cadres and the ability for honest work. The winter certainly does not have to be calamitous, if everyone, irrespective of party allegiance or union membership, will embark on the battle for coal, for electricity, and for the influx of farm produce from the countryside to the cities.

The overcoming of the results of the dramatic economic crisis may succeed in 5 years time, but it may also be shortened to 2 or 3 years. The appropriate and sensible government programs have already been worked out.

They must be implemented. But for this we need social and national wisdom as well as the honest cooperation of people united in a front for common work. This means the undertaking of actions which will not deepen but lessen the divergencies dividing the nation today.

In its 16 September statement the Politburo has, in a determined manner, subjected to an open and objective assessment the political trends which have dominated the first round of the debate at the first national NSZZ Solidarity congress. One cannot remain silent when at this congress it has been overtly demonstrated that the authors of various resolutions and stage-managers [animatorzy] of the leadership of Solidarity want to unfold its activity not as a trade union but as a political force, not in the interests of the workers, but against the principles of the political order in the state, and against our party and our alliances.

We cannot, at any point, accept such actions which--as for example the message to the working people of Eastern Europe--constitute an outright, demonstrative attempt to initiate in these countries changes similar to that which, in Poland, are being forced through by part of the leadership and advisors of Solidarity.

No sober man is able to agree with the false accusations against the authorities concerning the alleged dislike of the economic reforms and the halting of the development of workers' self-government. Against this background attacks against the government and the Sejm are organized.

It is worth recalling here that based on certain initiatives of the party a comprehensive economic reform concept was put forward. And while it was being worked on, there were also present plenipotentiary observers from Solidarity. We are accused of arrogance. But what is this? Unless its expression is the contemptuously formulated motion of the Gdansk congress on the referendum, which in any case--according to its authors--is to be conducted, even if the Sejm did not recognize it as indispensable.

Who and what real aims are served by the concepts of certain gentlemen that the socialist property in the entire economy should be converted to shareholders' companies with a considerable participation of foreign capital? Many capitalist businesses would willingly applaud this. In what sort of industries--let us ask--would this capital be interested? Above all, in the raw material-extraction ones. Before the war it was already this way as most Polish mines were in foreign hands. This would mean the reversal of Poland's development by whole decades.

Let no one dream of the rebirth of capitalism in our country. It is necessary to take a similar attitude to the intentions to reduce the level of production for defense purposes. This is in essence an irresponsible attempt to lower the international position of Poland.

It is not in the interests of the community that there are attempts at disturbing the functioning of the system of the state's information system. Particularly the proper functioning of the press, radio and television. Illegal leaflets and publications only cause confusion.

Some publicists are inclined to treat the positions adopted by the first round of the Solidarity congress as oppositional activity. In essence this is not true. The line adopted by a section of the Solidarity leadership is aimed at reforming the socialist system, the socialist political order, which would be natural criticism from an oppositional platform. They are striving toward a complete change of this political order and toward linking Poland with the West.

This is, therefore, a counterrevolutionary line, opposed to the achievements of the Polish world of labor attained in the years of people's power. So let no one be surprised at the government's stance: The state will use such means as will be required by the situation for the defense of socialism. The harsh words of the Politburo statement do not conceal the truth. It was met with a lively echo. There are massive sections of the people who support it in full. There are also numerous groups in Solidarity which reject its evaluation, and accuse the party of an attack against the union as a whole.

We have never attacked the working people who, with hope, joined the new union in order to create conditions for a better life and better work: to develop new values in the life of the community, to work for socialism and for Poland; who had workers' solidarity in mind.

We also do not believe that all members of the regional leaderships of Solidarity have succumbed to a false and dangerous ambition. Moreover, we believe that the majority--though still distrustful regarding the intentions of the authorities and the party--will be a genuine ally in the national struggle for snatching Poland from the clutches of crisis and anarchy, and that it will help to interrupt this destructive process.

For this reason the Politburo still confirms its readiness to and the need for building an alliance of and an agreement with everyone who is not against socialism, and to whom the cause of the homeland and its salvation is dear.

It must be said clearly: Today, more than ever before, we must reach agreement; reject extremes and reach agreement. Everything depends on our work at every post. We must produce more and waste less, so as to have more to share out. Also, it must be firmly accepted that any intention by anybody to undermine the Polish-Soviet alliances and cooperation will be censured. It is on that alliance and cooperation that our independent existence within the secure frontiers of a peaceful Europe depends. Our economic existence also depends on its durability. Without oil, without ore and cotton, without other essential raw materials, the Polish economy cannot function. It must also be clearly said that all kinds of anti-Soviet activities or agitation might lead to our closest ally, a great socialist country, beginning to consider whether or not to continue to help us or merely to maintain economic relations with us simply on the basis of mutual equilibrium. I think it would be instructive to make everyone aware that, not counting the ruble and foreign currency loans which we have obtained from the land of the Soviets, our trade balance has such a deficit that, if it were to be balanced next year, the import to Poland from the Soviet Union would have to decrease from more than 4.4 billion rubles to 2.7 billion rubles. This would mean, for example, that we could buy no more than half the raw materials and even less gasoline, that is catastrophically less. Some regional leaders of Solidarity in Szczecin, with amazing self-confidence, propose breaking off trade with the Soviet Union, speaking about this in shipbuilding industry plants. They apparently forget that the modern shipbuilding industry developed on the basis of stable orders from the Soviet Union. This market is sought by many world capitalist firms, in the name of profit. And also for Poland this is a traditionally advantageous market.

The Soviet Union can manage without Polish deliveries; but Poland cannot manage without Soviet deliveries.

These ideas recall the behavior of a boy sitting on a branch, which he is holding by one hand while cutting through it with the other. Speaking realistically: We must produce and export more than we do today--to the East and the West. Also, ever more widespread in the West, voices of anxiety and surprise are heard concerning Poland's internal developments. The [passage indistinct] reminds us of our economic obligations. Similar reports flow from financial and industrial circles of other Western countries.

Most of the community has had enough of permanent conflicts, of the rousing of political passions, of social divisions, of the weakening of the people's state. The people want peace, want to work for a worthy wage, and want the shops to be better supplied. [Words indistinct] in hunger and anarchy, the most beautiful reform [words indistinct] must perish.

Justice, law and order, democracy, sovereignty, self-government--these are matters of the highest importance. But after all the fencing to the left and to the right with these slogans, let us not forget the much simpler needs, the ills and dangers. Will it be possible to bring into effect the reforms and transformations if the state loses its strength and efficacity, if the economy is extinguished, and the nation then directs its energies not only against the authorities, but also against those who deliberately disorganize all fields of life?

In our nation there is the strength which always allowed it to (?survive) even the worst situations. This is its wisdom, patriotism and realism. Therefore--and I believe this profoundly--it is still possible even today that the true arguments and national interests of the Polish socialist community should be used by the overwhelming majority of our countrymen, and should influence the calming of moods. Therefore good will is needed. Our party possesses this will. This was proved by the ninth extraordinary congress.

Full democracy in the election of delegates; and entirely democratic mode of the election of authorities; unprecedented democratic statutory solutions--these are the guarantees of genuine transformations in the party.

Such a democratic, workers' party is a thorn in the side of those who want at all cost to remove it from the working class, and may destroy it altogether so as to make impossible a restoration of its influence in the nation and its being led along the path of socialist reforms.

The community discerns the sincerity and the depth of the interest of the whole party. Let us call a spade a spade. Not struggle for the seizing of power by enemies of socialism but cooperation by the community, cooperation by all union and political forces; not mutual accusations but a search for roads leading out of the crisis and the consolidation of socialism, its popular, just, class character--these must become permanent principles. There is every condition and even the indipensible necessity to give these principles a lasting, constitutional-like character.

We propose to all patriotic forces that they take part in the Front of National Unity, in the front for agreement and cooperation, jointly creating its new content and building a lasting platform for honest, national cooperation for the good of the socialist state. It should become the meeting place of the PZPR, the United Peasant Party, the Democratic Party, the socialist youth unions and all trade unions, NSZZ Solidarity next to the Industrial Branch and Autonomous Unions, representatives of the Catholic Church and other denominations in Poland, women's organizations and ex-servicemen.

It is indispensible to reconstruct such a platform of agreement by Poles, above the differences and despite them, so that all patriotic forces can merge for the salvation of the homeland.

A national unity front conceived in this way, a genuine agreement despite differences of opinions and moral and ideological motivations, could create entirely new prospects for the development of events in the country, decisive for its future and development. Whoever cares about Poland, about its salvation, has nor moral right to reject this idea.

Today we need a realistic agreement, based on the existing constitutional power in the country--great, persistent, truly fruitful and effective work--since there is no need to have anarchy or a struggle exhausting the forces of the nation. There can and should be perseverance in the resolution of all issues concerning Poles in their socialist and just homeland.

There are in fact no such issues which cannot be resolved, assuming we maintain respect for our own national achievements, for the socialist achievements and for political realities which are and will remain a lasting factor of the Polish reality. On the other hand, there are issues which cannot stand any delay, great or small. There is the need for effective work on the part of the government and the economic administration and cooperation with it by all union bodies in the program of economic and self-government reforms. There is the urgent need for the restoration of the value to the zloty which, deposited in the bank, must grow every year in a definite manner by a unit corresponding to the rate of inflation. But also the simple need for food supplies, stocks for the winter and fuel for the working man. There is the need to streamline the functioning of the administration and today, above all, perfecting the system of food rationing.

Chaos destroys strength and nerves and wastes the time of all women in particular. There is an obligation of permanent improvement, resourcefulness and friendly mutual assistance. There is also a need for severe criticism which does not end with words for such people as the vice president of the "Spolem" cooperative who diluted the recipe used in baking bread at the very moment when its price was increased, or for such people who delay the work of industry for agriculture, neglect housing or adopt a negligent attitude to other important needs.

Above all, at present there is a need for the acceleration of coal extraction. As we all know, without it Poland's opportunities for imports will continue to decline. It is odd that until now no agreement has been reached between the Ministry of Mining and the trade unions to accelerate coal extraction.

It looks as if someone, somewhere was interested in reducing the export of Polish coal and in hampering the pace of work of the whole industry and economy dependent on coal supplies.

No doubt such intentions do not originate from the authorities. We do not divide issues into important and unimportant, into small and big. All of them affect people. In fact they include also those which will improve our life in the long run. The party wants to enforce consistently the package of civil bills, such as the trade union bill, socialist enterprise bill, and workers' self-government bill which constitute genuine guarantees for a reform of economic life, socialization of decisionmaking and forms of management.

It will be debated in a sovereign manner at the session of the Sejm. A platform of cooperation should and can take shape around all these issues, bearing in mind the building of Poland's authority and prestige as a state.

Let us give it some thought. Let us reflect seriously as this is our great hope and our chance. Thank you ladies and gentlemen.

SOLIDARITY OFFICIAL ON APPEAL TO BLOC WORKERS

PM230751 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 20 Sep 81 p 8

[Eva Hernbaeck interview with Polish Solidarity trade union Deputy Chairman Ryszard Kalinowsky: "No Return on Solidarity's Road"]

[Text] "Why should we not be able to approach workers in other countries? The intention behind our appeal to our comrades in neighboring countries is obvious. And it was not us who thought up this 'workers of the world, unite!' business."

The notion that the controversial statement at Solidarity's recent congress could be an unnecessary and dangerous provocation is dismissed completely by Ryszard Kalinowsky.

He is deputy chairman of Solidarity's National Council, 28 and a guest at the Swedish Trade Union Federation congress. His special field of responsibility is Solidarity's international contacts and the free trade union's growing publishing activities.

But when further pressed on the question of whether Solidarity actions are not somewhat risky in today's tense situation he replied:

"Of course we are aware that we may have to pay a high price, but there is no turning back. Today we have much to lose. And we make our decisions bearing all this in mind."

The controversial statement was adopted 12 days ago by Solidarity's congress and has been greeted with angry and offensive replies from almost all of Poland's neighbors. The resolution was directed at "workers in Albania, Bulgaria, the GDR, Romania, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Hungary" and briefly stated:

"We support those of you who have decided to follow the difficult road of fighting for a free trade union movement."

At a press conference arranged by the Swedish Trade Union Federation on Saturday [19 September] Kalinowsky said that Solidarity had invited the trade unions in all the nations of the Eastern bloc to its congress but had not received a single reply.

"Perhaps the people at the top in these trade unions do not represent the workers at all? After 30 years at the top they have perhaps forgotten where they came from. But since none of them came to us, we turned directly to the workers in our appeal.

"The recent statements from Moscow, which are extremely threatening, directed at the Polish Government and published in all the Polish mass media on Friday, will have no influence at all on Solidarity's continued activities," Kalinowsky said.

"As a trade union we have important things to do, and we will do them independent of what other people think," he said.

Solidarity did not have any knowledge before Friday of the Russian letter to Poland's leaders. It was sent on the same day as the first part of the Solidarity congress finished, that is 10 September, but was not published until 18 September.

"The letter was sent to Poland's Government, not to Solidarity, and we are not in the habit of opening other people's letters," Kalinowsky joked. "We do not think that it is so important; there is serious criticism of what we are doing the whole time. This letter from Moscow is an attempt to make the second part of our congress more difficult, when we also have important decisions to make.

"All free trade unions, in socialist or capitalist countries, have difficulties with their governments. No country in the world accepts such an independent trade union as Solidarity, which is independent of both government and parties," Kalinowsky said.

"And in a country like Poland even a trade union for canary breeders would be labelled a political organization."

"Our organization is young and has young members, and this sets its stamp on our actions. Of course there are all sorts of provocations, and we do not have any surefire recipes for dealing with them.

"But we do not intend to try to lower our voices," the Solidarity leader said. "People must get used to criticism, and it is natural that criticism should be directed at governments. The criticism existed before, but it was silenced by censorship. And censorship lives on in Poland.

"For example, edition 25 of our newspaper SOLIDARNOSC will not be appearing, because it contains our resolution directed at workers in other countries."

Of the disagreements within Solidarity, Kalinowsky said: "Up to October 1980 we had a trade union in which everyone thought in the same way. In Solidarity this is not the case, we have differences of opinion. When we once again only have one view then this would mean the end for Solidarity."

He expressed concern over the decisions that Poland's parliament could make at its meeting on 24 and 25 September, the days before Solidarity continues its congress.

"These decisions could be worse than a thousand letters from Moscow. The decisions of parliament could hit Solidarity very hard. What do we do if they try to stop the second part of our congress? We would have to decide that then."

WARSAW CITES SUPPORT FOR, AGAINST PZPR STATEMENT

LD222138 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Text] Letters and resolutions from party and public organizations, expressing support for the 16 September statement of the party's Central Committee Politburo, are being sent to the PZPR leadership. These documents testify to civic and party concern for the country's internal order and calm. The view that constructive dialogue is essential on what today is the most urgent task--leading the country out of political and economic crisis--is being universally voiced.

Members of the Democratic Party [SD] in Bialystok, profoundly alarmed at the situation of the country, express the desire that the SD should today become an advocate of goodwill. The open letter from the SD voivodship committee presidium to Edward Kowalczyk, chairman of the SD Central Committee, contains their mediation proposal regarding Poland's most important social forces. The presidium expresses the conviction that this initiative--an invitation to a conference table--will not be rejected. There is no turning back from the path of renewal.

Numerous branches of NSZZ Solidarity and of NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers, in their resolutions and documents, oppose the stance taken by the Politburo.

The resolution of representatives of Solidarity members from Sub-Sedskids region's work-places expresses a resolute protest against the statement of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo which, according to the authors, constitutes yet another attempt to sow discord in society.

SOLIDARITY KKP SESSION IN GDANSK REPORTED 22 SEP

LD221330 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Text] A session of the National Consultative Commission [KKP] of NSZZ Solidarity will take place in Gdansk today, with Lech Walesa participating. According to information given by Janusz Onyszkiewicz, KKP press spokesman, the Presidium will define its attitude toward the statement of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, and will discuss the country's sociopolitical situation.

Discussion Reported

LD222102 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Marek (Slewicki) report from Gdansk]

[Text] A meeting of the Presidium of the National Consultative Commission [KKP] of NSZZ Solidarity, which lasted for more than (?3) hours, ended a few minutes after 1700. Lech Walesa took part in the meeting which was chaired by KKP Secretary Andrzej Celinski.

At today's discussion, the draft resolutions on worker self-government and on [words indistinct] remuneration for miners for work on free Saturdays were discussed. In addition there was discussion on the reform of the labor law; the issue of pay in the foodstuffs industry was also broached. During today's KKP Presidium session three documents were published: the stand on worker self-government; a Presidium statement demanding the revocation of resolution No 199 of the Council of Ministers' and a resolution which was passed on the issue of the authorities' withdrawal of permission for publication of 1 million editions of SOLIDARNOSC weekly.

During today's debate, the post of KKP plenipotentiary for wages affairs was entrusted to Patrycjusz Kosmowski.

The Presidium's debates were held in camera. Information on their course was passed on to me by chairman of the National Audit Commission, Jerzy Nowak. That is all from Gdansk.

Enterprise Directors Formula

LD230100 Warsaw PAP in Russian 2100 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Text] Warsaw, 22 Sep (PAP)--Solidarity's National Consultative Commission [KKP] Presidium met in Gdansk on 22 September.

It discussed, in particular, the question of workers' self-government. The presidium acquainted itself with information about consultations of members of the public in the Polish People's Republic's Sejm on the bills concerning state enterprises and workers' self-government. Up to now the question of who should appoint the director of an enterprise has been a matter of dispute. Solidarity's leadership empowered its representatives at the Sejm consultations on this subject to approve the following formula: The director of a state enterprise is appointed and dismissed either by the workers' council or by the enterprise's founding body [uchreditelnyy organ]. Each side has the right to protest the other's decision. The Council of Ministers, in agreement with the trade unions, will compile a list of enterprises of basic importance, in which the director is appointed and dismissed by the founding body. At public service enterprises the director is appointed by the founding body. In case a protest of a director's appointment of dismissal is disregarded, the party protesting such a decision may appeal to a court.

The position of Solidarity's leadership virtually coincides with the compromise proposals put forward by the government side in the course of the Sejm commission's discussion of the bills on state enterprises and workers' self-government. Both bills will be considered during the forthcoming Sejm session which began on 24 September.

TU AIMS TO CLEAR SOVIET RELATIONS OF 'LIES'

NC221435 Paris AFP in English 1407 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Text] Warsaw, 22 Sep (AFP)--Solidarity is only aiming to clear Polish-Soviet relations of the "lies" staining them, the independent union's railway section said today in a letter to the Soviet Ambassador here Boris Aristov.

The letter, answering last week's Soviet warning to Polish authorities, said: "Friendship between nations should be founded on mutual respect. It should not include silences and insinuations."

"We do not want to change the system. We are not questioning Poland's alliances. We want to be free in our country, to have an influence in the way it is governed, to have the right to say no to our nation's governors when they cease to listen to the nation," the letter said.

Solidarity's press service, which published extracts from the letter, also reported on three open letters adopted at enterprise meetings in Wroclaw, Warsaw and Tychy (in the south of Poland) in reply to a message from workers at the Likhachev factory in Moscow.

Polish workers affiliated to Solidarity denied ever revealing "rightist tendencies" or "counter-revolutionary threats" in their movement. They invited their Moscow counterparts to visit them, and the Tychy workers quoted a phrase from Lenin: "Socialism is the power of the masses".

Meanwhile observers here said today that last night's onslaught by Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski on Solidarity's alleged political pretensions amounted to confirmation of a break in relations between the government and the union.

It was a new peak in the campaign of propaganda waged by the government against Solidarity since last Friday, they said.

Mr Rakowski, who was enlarging on the main points of last Friday's declaration by the cabinet, said there would be neither "talks" nor "partner-to-partner" cooperation before the union resumed its congress in Gdansk on Saturday.

He put full blame for the split on Solidarity, which, he said, had transformed itself into a political organisation in opposition to the existing authority.

On cooperation with Solidarity he said: "At the present time, nothing remains of that idea. It is dead and its burial was in Gdansk."

Solidarity has also concluded cooperation is dead, but it lays the blame with the government. The union's national secretary, Andrzej Celinski, said yesterday that Solidarity was ready "at any time for negotiations with the government on no matter what subject."

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI QUESTIONS TU SILENCE ON ISSUES

LD221440 WArsaw PAP in English 1406 GMT 22 Sep 81

["Why Was This Voice Absent?"--PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 22 Sep (PAP)--In an article under the above heading, the ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI daily wrote:

"Is it coincidence or a regulatory that, neither of their own choosing nor compelled by advisers and experts, so far the leaders of Solidarity have not uttered a single word on the issue of peace, disarmament or the consolidation of Poland's defensive power and her security? They are silent about those matters which, though removed from the ample worries of everyday life, involve the foundation of foundations of our existence (also biological existence) as individuals, the society, the nation."

Author of the article said he would be inclined to believe it was a coincidence if "firstly, they were totally immersed in work on curbing the economic crisis and inflation, which are laying a heavy burden first of all on workers; secondly, without respite they hunted speculation, frauds and simple bureaucracy; thirdly, they use their energies righting anarchy and lawlessness, which disturb the inner peace of common people and strip them of the sense of security."

"Why did the Gdansk congress not issue a message to the working people of the whole of Europe to persist in striving for a more lasting and secure peace, and a separate message to the powers calling on them to sit down to a conference table and relieve the working people of the huge burden of armaments, and the societies, of fear of an insecure future? Why did it issue a message whose authors intended it to stir the working people of Eastern European countries against their own governments, in consequence of which the indignation and anger in those countries (and not only there) turned against Poland."

In conclusion, the daily writes that "the main reason for the interest our country attracts in the West is not that it is Poland, but that it is a socialist country, which shares the interests of the whole community and has strong links, also defensive, with the community as a whole and every one of its countries. If we did not have such a status we would be just remote and very poor relations of those who are now taking such a great interest in us and who want so much to make us happy in their image and after their likeness. In this sense, aiming against the socialist system and the striving to replace it with some other is not just a matter of one or another ideology or policy, but a matter of the nation's 'to be and how to be'." [sentence as received]

"As it frequently happened in the past, Poland is not the ultimate goal in this game, but merely one of the cards, important at the present stage of confrontation, but second rank in the whole game," the daily said.

SOLIDARNOSC ARTICLE COMMENTS ON MEDIA HOSTILITY

AU221402 Warsaw SOLIDARNOSC in Polish 11 Sep 81 p 11

[Unattributed article: "Allusions and Insinuations"]

[Excerpts] The authors of the articles and commentaries about the Solidarity congress on the whole do not level direct criticism at Solidarity, but regret that the dialogue is so difficult. In TRYBUNA LUDU of 5-6 September Jerzy Bielecki published a commentary "Hopes and Fears," whose points are as follows: In the new situation no one is forcing the trade unionists to tackle only the issues of work safety. After all, we talk with them about systemic issues. However, the dialogue is difficult, even though the point is to work out some platform of agreement. The party put forward such a platform last fall and reaffirmed it at its congress. Yet Solidarity takes a "position of negation." Its official documents are out of tune with what the trade union base of millions and millions of workers does, and this is so even if Solidarity decisions have all the attributes of constructive activity. Additional conditions are adduced so that Solidarity may take over powers that remain outside the sphere of trade unions. An example of that is to be the appeal for work during eight work-free Saturdays.

The TRYBUNA LUDU commentator uses a whole range of insinuations and distortions. He asserts, for example, that Solidarity has not put forward any platform (he ignores the programmatic theses published last May) and pits the party, which, he says, has had such a program for a long time, against Solidarity. But, as we know, such a program was formulated by the PZPR Congress only last July.

The media commentators' frequent gambit (J. Bielecki also uses it in his commentary) is to expose the chasm that is supposed to divide Solidarity extremist activisits from its base, which wants peace and quiet. We think that Bielecki's presence at the congress and his closely observing the reaction of the representatives of the base constituted by the delegates and watching the "top-bottom" relationship will enable him to change his views and to comprehend that radical activists simply express the much stronger radicalism of the masses.

Actually, Bielecki's commentary is an exception. The press has on the whole given up propaganda, leaving it to television, except for ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, which has published--as a commentary--a cartoon showing Walesa greeting at the depot congress delegates, each of whom sports badges captioned "KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] delegate" and "KPN [Confederation for an Independent Poland] delegate." It is undoubtedly not worth polemizing with that cartoon, except for asking whose delegate its author is. Television is waging a constant struggle with Solidarity, and that is why it is no wonder that congress delegates, distrusting television, refuse to admit it to the congress. By the way, the exclusion of the Gdansk "Panorama" was not dictated by distrust of the Gdansk TV journalists, but by distrust of its chiefs in Warsaw, who arbitrarily juggle with honestly prepared materials.

Neither trade unionists nor congress delegates will believe in a hurry in the good intentions of TV news department, which, in the words of Eugeniusz Guz, continues to sharply attack the congress and Solidarity and on behalf of the journalists, to express its profound regret that they are an "object of conflict" and that "claims originating from outside the country are addressed to us." "From outside the country" is for E. Guz whatever is not the government and its tools. It includes society and some of its organizations, including our union, and representatives of these organizations.

"We should respect the radio and television statute," E. Guz says. "It has never occurred before that an entire television organization has been refused accreditation. The world media have now noted this sad fact. Also, no one knows of any case in which a government signed an accord on accreditation with trade unions. This is a freak."

It takes a long time to explain and unravel such an accumulation of distortions and misunderstandings.

In its propaganda arsenal, television has other resources as well. Every day it beams the traditional voices of "our correspondents." From the very beginning of our union's existence they have reported about the bad views people, including those in the West, hold with regard to Solidarity. Now too, during the congress, the Western mass media are supposed to criticize us.

Bonn: DIE WELT AM SONNTAG asks what would happen if FRG trade unions demanded time on the air for themselves.

Rome: Italian TV did not receive any TV pictures from Poland.

Stockholm: Solidarity must deny that it is a political movement.

West Berlin: The congress negates state power, and Solidarity has political ambitions.

Belgrade: Unity is lacking.

London: Democracy of force; delegates make their speeches in a provocative manner.

As for the views of the Eastern press, it is not worth mentioning them.

In the block of information about the second day of the congress, television showed us how a team of West Deutsche Rundfunk shot a street scene with people painting the slogan: "Television Lies." Krzysztof Pol commented on this scene as follows: "Surely, the painting scene was arranged" so the Western journalists could film it. Well, no doubt the entire congress was arranged for the sole reason, namely, that foreign journalists could film it while Polish Television is absent from it and cannot make itself felt.

The TV news department is very keen on using yet another propaganda resource: juxtaposition of news items. For example, during the first day of the congress, the information on the congress was followed by tanks charging across the small TV screens. This showed that it is not only the Western mass media that frighten us with intervention. If to the media's propaganda actions we add Urban's attack against Marian Jurczyk, who loudly claimed in a precongress TV program that Meiczyslaw Rakowski should not be a member of the congress--after all, Rakowski is not one of those saints who cannot be criticized--we will reach the conclusion that the only thing on which the authors of the attacks against Solidarity and its activists and friends are truly bent is to provoke a confrontation response on the part of the delegates in order to have a pretext later on for a general assault on Solidarity.

ILLEGAL PUBLICATIONS CONFLICT WITH STATE INTEREST

AU221325 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Sep 81 p 2

[PAP report: "Activities in Conflict With the Interests of People and State"]

[Text] The press spokesman of the General Prosecutor's Office informed PAP that in the past few months the office had presented materials attesting to the intensifying anti-Soviet campaign waged in the bulletins and publications printed and circulated without control by the authorized control bodies.

On 1 September illegal publications circulated by the Solidarity commission in the Ustrzyki Dolne timber mill were secured in the "Ruch" kiosk at the mill. They included a publication entitled "Poland's Fourth Partition" and other publications decidedly hostile to the USSR.

Representatives of the Carpathian Solidarity and of the mill council demanded that the secured materials be returned forthwith and that any investigations should be stopped. They also decided to proclaim a strike alert and a warning strike if those demands were not met. The strike was announced after the first round of the Solidarity congress.

During the 4 September meeting at the mill, the prosecutors tried to explain to Solidarity representatives the social harm done by such publications and that their demands were unjustified. Both the demands and the strike decisions were reaffirmed. A warning strike was held for 1 hour on 12 September. The strike alert continues.

It should be explained that the correctness of the prosecutors' decision can be evaluated only by the authorized body, that is, by a superior prosecutor during the preliminary stages, and by the appropriate court if an indictment has been issued. The demands, even if backed by strike threats, will not be met because they unequivocally hit at the principles of legality. The prosecuting bodies will not negotiate on judicial proceedings under way.

Aside from the aforementioned case, the BULETYN DOLNOSLASKI, which appears without legal permission in Wroclaw and is sold by the "Ruch" kiosks, has recently published materials in Russian addressed to the Soviet soldiers and officers stationed in Poland and appealing to them to disobey the USSR Government. Investigations into this case are also under way.

KRAKOW PLENUM RESOLUTION SUPPORTS PARTY POLITBURO

Resolution Summed Up

LD230410 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0200 GMT 23 Sep 81

[Text] A plenum of the Krakow party committee was held yesterday with the participation of Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Politburo and secretary for the party Central Committee. The current sociopolitical situation in the country and the tasks stemming from this for party organizations were discussed.

In a resolution adopted by the plenum participants, the Krakow party organization fully supports the statement of the party Central Committee Politburo and comes out in favor of maintaining the party's political line up to now, which is understood as being an aspiration for working people to reach understanding on the basis of socialism and faithfulness to the internationalist traditions of the workers' movement and Polish national traditions and alliances. The resolution urges all working people to embark on a political struggle against a philosophy of total negation and against the aspiration for fresh conflicts threatening confrontation in which force is used.

During the plenum Kazimierz Barcikowski discussed the qualitatively new political situation in the country which came about after the first part of the Solidarity congress.

Barcikowski Speaks

LD222246 Warsaw PAP in Russian 2100 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Text] Warsaw, 22 Sep (PAP)--The sociopolitical situation in the country and the tasks of the party organizations connected with it were the theme of the plenum of the Krakow PZPR Committee which met on 22 September. Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee participated in the work of the plenum.

In his speech, K. Barcikowski dealt with the qualitatively new situation which has arisen in the country since the first round of the Solidarity congress. The decisions adopted by that forum, he stated, violate the structural principles of Poland and at the same time violate the nature of the agreements concluded earlier.

If Solidarity has defined itself as an opposition force against the PZPR,then the party organizations also must define themselves. Each must answer for himself the question of whether a member of the party who is simultaneously a member of Solidarity can combine membership of both organizations. The task of a member of the PZPR is to defend the socialist path of Poland's development. The party must be on the offensive. This is a necessity. We wish to change Poland in accordance with the decisions of the Ninth PZPR Congress. In Poland we wish to build socialism free from upheavals.

K. Barcikowski also dwelt upon the question of the responsibility of Solidarity for the situation in Poland. The party, he said, must take the initiative in getting the country out of the crisis. We must convince people that there will be nothing without conscientious labor.

JOURNALISTS ENGAGE IN CRITICISM OF SOLIDARITY

Bratkowski View Attacked

LD221240 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0630 GMT 22 Sep 81

[From the press review]

[Text] (Jerzy Majka) engages in a polemic with Stefan Bratkowski in a TRYBUNA LUDU article entitled "Mirages Make Understanding More Difficult." Bratkowski, in reflections on the differences between the authorities and Solidarity published in the ZYCIE I NOWOCZESNOSC of 10 September this year, tried to convince readers that they should understand the situation better. One can see the reasons for the difficulties and (?misunderstandings) in the ill will and prejudices which have collected on both sides over the past year. The author, says (Jerzy Majka), hands out forgiveness and mild [word indistinct] to both sides. In assessing what Stefan Bratkowski says, (Jerzy Majka) states that a dove with an olive branch rising into the air above Bratkowski's reasoning is not capable of covering up the distorting of reality in which this author is engaged.

One cannot treat a union with many millions of members which exerts a considerable influence on all spheres of life like a child who is allowed to do anything he wants and who can be forgiven everything. Recalling past conflicts, (Jerzy Majka) says that the motive force guiding various links of the Solidarity union onto the road of a trial of strength has been and still unfortunately is, above all, the obsession of opposition to the authorities which is constantly charged up by the large group of KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] activists who have carved niches for themselves in the union's apparatus.

One of the charges (Jerzy Majka) makes against Stefan Bratkowski is that he is distorting reality by making light of the antistate, antiparty and anti-Soviet tendencies and activities of many elements in Solidarity. The final sentence in (Jerzy Majka's) article is: A catastrophe can be averted only if the public becomes aware of the whole dramatic nature of the situation and if a resolute barrier is erected to the policy of adventurism.

Disappointment Seen

LD221304 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0630 GMT 22 Sep 81

[From the press review]

[Text] (Urszula Koziorowska), reflecting in GLOS PRACY on the first round of the Solidarity congress, ponders on the fact that today, a year after the founding of the organization, we can see the fulfillment of the union's fundamental tasks.

The author attempts to evaluate the past year which was full of conflicts and states that the government and the party, the latter of which Solidarity has recognized as the leading force in the state, have raised more and more objections about the fundamental activities of the union and have pointed out the dangerous economic, social and political consequences that ensue from them. (Urszula Koziorowska) stresses that, apart from Lech Walesa, few voices were heard during the first part of the congress which referred to the union base, to the expectations of the rank-and-file members of this multimillion-member union. The proceedings and some of the resolutions adopted in the first part of the congress went far beyond the framework of trade union activity.

The author ponders on the repercussions of these events, describes the disappointment with the congress felt by the rank-and-file Solidarity members and stresses the necessity of becoming aware of how active Solidarity is in Poland, a state which occupies a certain position in Europe and the world, a state which, in order to protect its independence and security, entered into certain alliances and a state whose loyalty to those alliances constitutes a guarantee of its national existence.

TRYBUNA LUDU CRITICIZES SOLIDARITY CONGRESS

LD221458 Warsaw PAP in English 1400 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Text] Warsaw, 22 Sep (PAP)--"The first part of the Solidarity congress was a departure from the bounds of the statute. It was devoted not to a strategy of struggle for the interests of the working people, for the position of millions of union members, but the strategy of power struggle, struggle against socialism and the party, against the system and alliances," TRYBUNA LUDU wrote.

"One would like to believe that it was just an episode, that the programme of the union, which is to be adopted during the second part of the Gdansk debates, will be dominated by union affairs, that the anti-socialist platform, dangerous to national interests, will be abandoned. Unfortunately the facts of the recent days do not make room for such optimism."

"Let us make it clear: It is not the Political Bureau, not the government, not people's authorities that are a threat to the society and are leading to confrontation. It is against national interests, against the class instinct of the working people that a group of determined anti-communists are using the August myth of Solidarity in the striving to impede common sense and thinking. To take the risk of total confrontation, as Mr. Grzegorz Palka said at the congress in Gdansk." [as received]

"This features only one, but a fundamental fallacy in thinking: No way can there be confrontation between the working class and its democratic representative and vanguard--the party. No way can there be confrontation between the working people and socialist authorities. The 'friends' of the people, the determined enemies of socialism cannot command lasting obedience from vast masses of the society," TRYBUNA LUDU concluded.

FIRE SET IN SOLIDARITY RADOM OFFICE; ARREST MADE

NC221657 Paris AFP in English 1644 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Text] Warsaw, 22 Sep (AFP)--Fire broke out today in the independent trade union Solidarity's headquarters in Radom, about 100 kilometers (65 miles) south of here, Solidarity sources reported. Police arrested a man, in his early thirties, in connection with the blaze.

Firemen said the blaze appeared to be arson. It broke out in the attic of the building where Solidarity rents the top two floors.

Solidarity is specially active in the Radom area. It has begun talks with the authorities to find those responsible for the repression that followed riots there in 1976.

In June, Solidarity won the ouster of the local Communist Party first secretary who was in power during the riots.

Warsaw Reports Fire

LD222206 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Text] At about 1300 today, (?flames) were noticed coming out of the roof of a building at 9 Moniuszko street in Radom. The building is the headquarters of the Radom Inter-factory Strike Committee of NSZZ Solidarity, and the wedding palace of the registry office. Thanks to immediate intervention by four [word indistinct] (?of) the fire brigade, in 30 minutes the fire was put out.

It was stated that the fire had probably occurred as a result of [words indistinct]. No perpetrator was found.

The damage is not great; a part of the roof and the beam [word indistinct] were destroyed. An investigation is being conducted by the urban headquarters of the Citizens' Militia, together with the fire brigade command.

LE FIGARO CRITICIZES 'IMPERIALIST PLOT' PAMPHLET

PM221221 Paris LE FIGARO in French 18 Sep 81 p 3

[Bernard Margueritte dispatch: "Warsaw: Strange Pamphlet Denounces Alleged Imperialist Plot"]

[Text] Warsaw--A strange document is at present being distributed throughout Poland: It is a pamphlet entitled "Where Is Poland Going?" The original is apparently at the premises of a Luxembourg publisher, but it has been translated into Polish and distributed in that country by the Czechoslovak Orbis Press Agency.

This surprising document combines detailed documentation with the most fantastic ideas. Basically, of course, the aim is to show that events in Poland are not so much prompted by internal causes as by a vast imperialist plot. A fundamental element in the program to destabilize Poland is what the book calls "Operation Wojtyla." The former archbishop of Krakow, unlike Cardinal Wyszynski, has allegedly long represented "the extremist forces of the Polish Church." The imperialists thought, therefore, that by having Wojtyla elected pope, he would speed up Poland's destablization.

The author of this fiendish plan is named: He is Zbigniew Brzezinski, President Carter's former adviser, backed up, of course, by the CIA, for whom it was "child's play" to arrange Wojtyla's election as pope thanks, in particular, to the American and West German cardinals.

Some of the consequences of this can be seen today: One of Solidarity's main groups of advisers is the prominent Catholic members of the Catholic Intellectuals' Club, like Mr Mazowiecki, who is very close to Pope John Paul II.

According to the pamphlet, another very important influence is, of course, that of the West German revisionists and of the Christian Democratic Union and the Christian Social Union. The Polish dissidents from the Social Self-defense Committee [KOR] have been having meetings in the FRG for a long time with, among others, revisionists who had fled territory which is now Polish.

In addition to this there are, of course, the efforts of the anticommunist Polish emigres who are especially active in France, Britain and the United States.

It was thanks to them that the dissident association KOR was set up in 1976--an association which is now providing Solidarity with its second important group of advisers. "The formation of the KOR was conceived and inspired outside Poland's borders. This action was planned with the help of various Polish emigre institutions in foreign countries, many of which are frequently linked with imperialist intelligence and subversion centers through influential members of their leadership." And of course behind all that we find Zbigniew Brzezinski and the CIA once again.

At a different time it would, of course, not be necessary to report these fantstic ramblings. However, they are important because they reflect a disturbing escalation in the propaganda of neighboring countries.

KOMMUNIST OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED ON WROCLAW TALKS

LD222144 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Excerpt] Representatives of the KOMMUNIST periodical, the theoretical mouthpiece of the CPSU Central Committee, are on a 3-day visit to Wroclaw. The guests are particularly interested in our party's current situation and in its political activities. They held a meeting with the leadership of the Political Sciences Institute of Wroclaw University. After the meeting, I asked them to the microphone. I talked first with Yevgeniy Bugayev, first deputy chief editor of KOMMUNIST.

[Begin Bugayev recording in Russian followed by Polish translation] What KOMMUNIST writes fulfills a particular role. It is something in the nature of the official mouthpieces of the CPSU; for that reason, as you have no doubt noticed, KOMMUNIST has so far never taken a stand on the situation in Poland. It prints exclusively those opinions formulated by the CPSU Central Committee. We have been guided by this principle, so that even our best wishes and advice may be taken as external pressure or else as interference in Poland's internal affairs. I can say with complete conviction that according to me the PZPR is gradually getting control of the situation. That is really all I can say on the topic and it is doubtful whether an article on our visit to Poland will appear in our periodical, because this would be premature and as I have already said, it could be wrongly understood. [end recording]

Now at the microphone are Prof Dr Marian Orzechowski and Professor [name indistinct]. What have you to say on the subject of the significance of your meeting?

[Begin recording] [Unidentified voice] It is hard to talk about a scientific significance, rather a political-psychological significance. I think that what our Soviet comrades think about the situation in Poland and how they view our problems is exceptionally important and valuable for us. A different point of view on the same issues is always valuable, and without that a policy cannot be carried on correctly; and the second aspect of this kind of meeting and of every meeting with representatives of the fraternal parties is this -- I hope, at least -- that our information, our statements, will enable them to get better acquainted with this country and to amend their previous ideas and opinions about it, or else consolidate the opinions which they previously held. The conclusion which one can draw from this is that all that the Soviet Union does regarding Poland, its whole attitude to us as a state, to us as a party, is also based on a good knowledge of things, on [word indistinct], on what they have observed here on the spot in Poland, on what they have learned in our conversations; and that is the point of all meetings with representatives of fraternal parties, primarily with representatives of the CPSU. [end recording]

PRZEMYSL FARMERS ASKED TO GIVE UP FOOD RATIONS

LD222128 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Text] In connection with the constantly worsening situation in supplies of meat and its byproducts to the population, the Przemysl voivoda, the chairman of the Voivodship Union of Agricultural Circles and Organizations as well as the chairman of the voivodship Founding Committee of NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers have issued an appeal to all farmers in Przemysl Voivodship, asking them to have a civic-minded understanding of the responsibility of rural producers for supplying foodstuffs to the population. The authors of the appeal point out that it is essential to increase sales of crops, potatoes, livestock and milk and appeal to farmers to fully discharge their tasks arising from contractual agreements.

They also appeal to farmers to give up their rations of meat, flour and cereals to which they are entitled in the fourth quarter of this year so that the non-agricultural population can benefit from this.

ANTICRISIS STAFF DISCUSSES GASOLINE, OIL SHORTAGES

AU221314 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Sep 81 p 6

[PAP report: "Acute Shortage of Liquid Fuels"]

[Text] The Anticrisis Operational Headquarters discussed at its 16 September session the possibilities for curbing the adverse results caused in the socialized economy and transportation by the shortage of gasoline and motor oil. The session was chaired by Deputy Premier Janusz Obodowski.

The session stressed that although the acute shortage of liquid fuels had been discussed for many months now, the suitable departmental decisions are still lacking, and this is why fuel supply difficulties are mounting.

In the past few months thousands of tons of fuels have been used uneconomically, and this is why there will be a shortage of them in the fall-winter period. The socialized economy's economic units' bad management is the main reason for that. That is why action will be taken to eliminate the manifestations of waste and dishonesty. In socialized economic units, fuels will be allotted for specific tasks and the system of accounts concerning the purchase and consumption of fuels and oil will be changed. As of 1 October such purchases will have to be recorded in bills drawn up by the central fuel depot (up to now such bills have been drawn up by the drivers themselves). At the same time, a number of measures will be taken to conserve fuels. For example, truck transportation of farm produce will be replaced by rail transportation to the greatest extent possible. To ensure the availability of fuels for the most urgent needs, the Anticrisis Headquarters decided to curb the export of motor oil and to reduce gasoline supplies to the market. The reserves thus created will help to maintain transportation in the priority sectors of the economy--agriculture, food industry, urban buses and the health service. The session also decided to accelerate work to ration gasoline in the private sector.

The session also evaluated the supplies of protective clothing to meet the needs of the workforces. A shortage of basic raw materials (domestic and imported) such as leather, glue, cotton and saturating agents is responsible for increased shortages of basic protective clothing. That is why the shortages of protective footwear, gloves and personal appliances are causing justified protests by workforces. The session decided that all possible means to ease those shortages--as proposed by the minister of materials management--should be welcomed and that the appropriate departments should urgently propose solutions to ensure increased production and better quality of fire-proof and dustproof clothing. Increased supplies of protective rubber footwear must be ensured at the cost of market supplies. The balance sheets of needs, the production of reserves and the control over the sales of protective and work clothing will also be improved.

UNSUCCESSFUL HIJACK ATTEMPT 22 SEP NOTED

LD230322 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0300 GMT 23 Sep 81

[Text] The latest--this time--unsuccessful attempt to hijack a plane of the Polish Airlines LOT took place yesterday evening. The hijackers--three men and one woman--with the help of sharp instruments terrorized the planes's stewardesses and passengers on a flight from Warsaw to Koszalin and demanded that the plane proceed to West Berlin. The pilot managed to throw the hijackers off their guard, and land at the Warsaw Okecie Airport. The hijackers were detained as a result of an operation by a special Citizens' Militia group.

PZPR'S SOLINSKI PROPOSES REMEDIES FOR CRISIS

AU221431 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 18-20 Sep 81 pp 1, 3

[Ryszard Naleszkiewicz, Ryszard Stoklosa interview with Walerian Solinski, PZPR Central Committee member: "Let Us Renegotiate Poland's Future"--date, place not given]

[Excerpts] [Question] At the Third Central Committee Plenum you spoke of the weakness of the party and of the government, which represents the party as a governing agent. You meant that there was the party and the government, but that the business of government was in bad shape.

[Answer] The party is losing power because it has lost the chance to appoint leading economic managers, and, as you know, every government appoints its own people to the highest posts.

[Question] But about government....

[Answer] That was my answer. He who is not in charge of the economy loses power and is unable to run the state. Leszek Moczulski foresaw that in his "Revolution Without Revolution." This is the fifth phase of his plans--winning political power by depriving the party of power in the economic sphere. If our opponents succeed in that, the other things such as taking over the People's Councils and the Sejm will be a cinch, a formality.

[Question] Has that phase already begun?

[Answer] Certainly. Just keep your eyes open.

[Question] What can be done? Can you see a way out?

[Answer] In keeping with the ninth congress line, there is only one way out: immediate renegotiation of all social accords.

[Question] To eliminate chaos?

[Answer] That is not the point. The point is to sort out the power system in our country, to renegotiate Poland's future! We must reach a clear agreement as to who governs the country and how. And as to who manages and how.

[Question] But in that way negotiations may lead to bypassing the Polish communists' system of power!

[Answer] This is a utopia. The greatest adversary will not agree to that.

[Question] But that may result in the party's losing much power and influence.

[Answer] Yes and no. Even in August 1981 it was obvious that the party could not govern as it had governed previously. Needless to say that it was not the party that governed in the old days, but selected managerial groups of various levels. The party masses were required merely to applaud and to support automatically managerial orders and decrees from the rural parish through the Central Committee.

[Question] Is it necessary to share power?

[Answer] Of course, it is today, but it should have been shared much earlier. The party should have initiated power sharing years ago, and perhaps would have avoided the errors for which we are now paying such a high price. In the old days power resulted from holding it, but today it should result also from the strength and cohesion of programs.

[Question] Yes, yes, it should....but how is that today?

[Answer] I do not know, and probably you do not know either.

[Question] Are renegotiations a sovereign remedy?

[Answer] They are the best remedy, one everyone can accept.

[Question] At the third plenum you spoke of four possible alternatives concerning the development of the future situation. Today you have mentioned only one.

[Answer] I have mentioned the best alternative.

[Question] Your first alternative is to put the country in order and to ensure the rule of law. How?

[Answer] Precisely! How? If the government wants to succeed in this regard, it must have at its disposal the basic attributes of power: the economy, communications, the forces of public order and the armed forces.

[Question] The second alternative?

[Answer] My ideal alternative: the renegotiations we have spoken about.

[Question] What if the first two alternatives fail?

[Answer] This would be the worst possibility. The third alternative: continuing the present state right up to the very end. Having reached complete chaos, the party not only would lose power, but face dissolution, liquidation. Perhaps not only the party; other organizations as well.

[Question] The fourth alternative shocked some people during the third plenum.

[Answer] Perhaps it did, but this is no time for embellishing the facts. Perhaps mine is a subjective truth, but a truth all the same. The fourth alternative applies when the first two fail. It proposes that the party should prepare itself in a planned way for surrendering --for a time--political power and for going over to opposition. Opposition activities and the struggle for power make every party stronger.

[Question] From this context it appears that you think that Solidarity is fighting for power?

[Answer] Not Solidarity, but the people who manipulate it. It is obvious that they are fighting. Besides, to maintain that a trade union is apolitical is utopia. Every collective decision and initiative of such a massive trade union is always politics. Some 20 years ago when I was active in the Union of Polish Students we tried to convince ourselves and they tried to convince us that our union was apolitical. To have said that was even then utter nonsense. To say that about a trade union that has emerged from a protest against a system of government is all the more utter nonsense. That is why a comprehensive accord is the most important issue for our people.

[Question] At any price?

[Answer] Accord does not always mean making concessions on principles. It is a sensible compromise not so much with trade unions as with society. And precisely now, even immediately following the Solidarity congress, the party must sit down at the negotiating table. Not only the government--precisely the party. At any price, no matter how rough that table is!

[Question] Well, the party will negotiate, but the adversary, gradually escalating his demands, will take over the People's Councils and then the Sejm.

[Answer] You will have this earlier if no negotiations are held, but there will be more tragedy in it. It is not true that our society is divided into two camps: the party and its opponents. When I was elected a Central Committee member people did not turn away from me. Even those on whose sympathy I did not count congratulated me. People are waiting for a strong and credible party. After all, there is no crisis of the ideology of socialism.

[Question] When you were elected...after all, we are having a political struggle. Did they not try to "finish you off?"

[Answer] I have worked with and among people for 17 years now. I am an old hand to them, and we no doubt understand each other. Besides, we have gone through so much, and our people's political culture is too high to expect excesses everywhere....

[Question] Is this a compliment? We have always complained about our people's lack of political culture.

[Answer] Gentlemen, there are few nations in the world that are able to experience such great political tremors as ours with such dignity and culture. After all, the world admires us for that culture.

ZSL SESSION DISCUSSES CURRENT NATIONAL SITUATION

LD221253 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1130 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Text] The fifth plenary session of the Supreme Committee of the United Peasant Party [ZSL] being held in Warsaw today is devoted to the ZSL tasks in the country's current sociopolitical and economic situation. Members of the ZSL Deputies' Club and the chairmen of ZSL voivodship committees are also participating in the session. In opening the session, Stefan Ignar, chairman of the Supreme Committee of the ZSL, stressed that giving the deliberations the broader character and status of an assembly of representatives of central and local bodies of the party was dictated by the significance of the issues discussed, the tense situation in the country and the need to hold onto the idea of national accord.

Tax Payment, Cooperation

LD222258 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Text] The fifth plenum of the United Peasant Party [ZSL] Supreme Committee met in Warsaw today to discuss the task of the ZSL in the current socio-political and economic situation of the country. Members of the parliamentary ZSL were present.

Referring to the situation in the country, Stefan Ignar [ZSL Supreme Committee chairman] said, among other things:

[Begin recording] The method of conciliation, the method of conference, of coming to an agreement at a round table by delegations, if not all, then individual issues, one after another, and so forth--we are not allowed to give up this method. We must cooperate on given concrete issues, which are advantageous for the country, for the state. I suggest that we should accept this in the debate as the basic stance of the ZSL.

Now to go over to other matters: the agricultural development fund. We have here such obstinacy, but it is not grounds to declare a strike throughout Poland in the form of refusing to pay a third installment of taxes, or even, as I have heard in conversations today, not to deliver food to the purchasing centers, even if it should perish, because deliveries must be halted as was done in the 1973 agricultural strike. This is stupid, this a compromise. Simply, I urge Rural Solidarity to withdraw from this struggle, this lighthearted search for popularity among peasants by organizing the peasants not to pay taxes. This is a minimal tax in relation to inflation. Not to pay these few pennies to the state means simply a disorganization of the state and we urge Rural Solidarity to end this stand as it is of no advantage to them. It just disorganizes the peasants and makes it difficult to form a peasant representation in the countryside. [end recording]

The agenda contained, among other things, the draft bill on social insurance for farmers, submitted by the chairman of the parliamentary ZSL; the adoption of rules for the election of officers and delegates for the ZSL meetings and congresses; and reactivation of the ZSL fund. The plenum has passed a ZSL Supreme Committee statement concerning the situation in the country.

Statement Reported

LD222218 Warsaw PAP in English 2024 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Text] Warsaw, 22 Sep (PAP)--The participants of the 5th plenary session of the United Peasant Party Central Committee taking place in Warsaw today made a statement on Poland's present socio-political situation on behalf of the UPP CC and the party's parliamentary group.

The statement expresses concern over a dangerous worsening of the political and economic situation in the country and stresses that the nation's existence is threatened by rapid deterioration of the economic situation connected with growing conflicts in the realm of political life.

Under the influence of some leaders and advisers the first part of the Solidarity congress has given evidence of a dangerous tendency to gradually direct Solidarity onto the road of open struggle for political power in the country, the United Peasant Party statement said.

The process of overcoming the crisis is hampered by the permanently recurring phenomena of inconsistence and delayed actions.

The course, some postulates and resolutions of the first round of Solidarity congress arouse our concern. A resolution was adopted, "message to the workers of Eastern Europe", which interferes in the internal affairs of the countries of socialist community and which leads to discord between Poland and her allies.

No Pole can question the significance of the alliance with the USSR for the durability of our borders. The questioning of Poland's alliances, the anti-Soviet agitation dangerously lessen our society's sensitiveness to the menace posed by the West German revisionists, serves as an encouragement to putting forward claims to Polish lands on the Odra and the Baltic, carries a threat to the security of our borders as well as to the peaceful order and stability in Europe.

The most important thing at present is to create a broad front of national agreement of all those who do not question Poland's socialist system and our international alliances.

The United Peasant Party's stand is that it is necessary in the name of common good to observe the principles of the concluded social agreements. Honest realization of these agreements must guarantee authentic democratization of socio-political and economic life in Poland, in which the independent and self-governed trade unions have an important role to play.

We believe that the system of alliance of the three parties, the PUWP, the Democratic Party and the United Peasant Party, which happened to be deformed more than once in the past, should so function at present that it becomes a guarantee of correct political orientation and constitutes a basis for partnerlike cooperation of all organizations and social milieus whose supreme goal is the wellbeing of Poland.

FOREIGN TRADE OFFICIAL ON EXCHANGES WITH USSR

LD211516 Warsaw PAP in English 1405 GMT 21 Sep 81

[Text] Warsaw, 21 Sep (PAP)--Speaking about Poland's trade relations with the USSR, First Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade T. Nestorowicz told TRYBUNA LUDU that, contrary to what is generally believed here, the Soviet side wishes us well and shows understanding for our situation.

This is evidenced in the fact that, despite a significant reduction of Polish supplies to the Soviet Union this year, the Soviet deliveries to Poland this year have been executed in quota larger than projected, or at least on time. Polish industry would not (?be able) to work in the first place if it were not for supplies from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, Nestorowicz said.

It is projected that this year import from those countries will account for 60 percent of the overall value of Polish import.

Poland's trade exchange with the Soviet Union brings definite profits unattainable on other markets. Most important, the USSR is Poland's main supplier of materials necessary for production, for which we pay back in ready products of our industry.

The deputy minister quoted figures envisaged in this year's trade contracts. The value of Soviet supplies to Poland of fuels and materials for production has been set at 3.16 billion roubles, i.e. 64 percent of all our import from the USSR. On the other hand, Poland supplies the USSR with a mere 430 million roubles worth of those materials, which is 12 percent of Poland's export to the Soviet Union. The rest are processed products of our industry, 64 percent of them being profit-yielding products of the electro-engineering industry. No other country in the world would agree on such a strucutre of trade exchange, Nestorowicz stated.

He also pointed out that the structure of trade exchange is exceptionally advantageous to us. The Soviet market can tolerate more in the way of the character and mode of our deliveries.

The price system is another thing. So-called creeping prices, determined on the basis of average fluctuations of world prices over the preceding 5 years, are in use within the CEMA. This is of essential importance to Poland, a major importer of materials from the USSR, as prices for those commodities have been growing fast and incessantly. If the materials purchased in the Soviet Union last year for 8.5 billion exchange zlotys had been bought in capitalist countries, they would have cost Poland 19.5 billion exchange zlotys. Owing to price differences, we save more than $100 on a ton of petroleum alone, the deputy minister said.

MADEJ, KARSKI MEET WITH U.S. ECONOMIC DELEGATION

LD181931 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 18 Sep 81

[Text] An economic delegation from the United States headed by (Eugene Lawson), assistant to the U.S. commerce secretary, has paid a visit to Poland. The delegation held talks at the Ministry of Foreign Trade and was also received by Deputy Premier Zbigniew Madej and Foreign Trade Minister Ryszard Karski.

The Polish side paid special attention to the importance of further supplies on credit of U.S. agricultural produce, especially crops, fodder and other agricultural raw materials.

It was agreed that the 10th session of the Polish-American mixed commission for trade will be held in the fall this year.

JARUZELSKI RECEIVES U.S. INDUSTRIALIST HAMMER

LD191454 Warsaw PAP in English 1404 GMT 19 Sep 81

[Text] Warsaw, 19 Sep (PAP)--The Chairman of the Council of Ministers Wojciech Jaruzelski received today the well-known American businessman, President of the Occidental Petroleum Corporation Dr. Armand Hammer.

The two reviewed the possibilities and forms of cooperation in the field of raw materials and chemicals investment.

The talks were attended by Vice-Premier Zbigniew Madej.

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON CZYREK VISIT TO CUBA

Czyrek Speech

AU191823 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Sep 81 p 7

[PAP report on speech by Jozef Czyrek, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and secretary and Polish foreign affairs minister, at a 14 September dinner party in Havana]

[Text] In reply [to Carlos Rafael Rodriguez' speech], Minister J. Czyrek emphasized that we attach great attention to the present visit.

Over 20 years ago, since the victory of the Cuban Revolution, which was crucial to the history of the Western Himisphere, he said, Polish-Cuban relations have acquired a new dimension and have been built on a new foundation, on the community of socialist ideals and on close cooperation between the leading forces of both our peoples--the PZPR and the Communist Party of Cuba. We have been brought closer by the basic political principles of our two states, which are inseparably linked with the principles of socialist internationalism, with fraternal friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist states, with the struggle for peace and progress in the world, and with the consolidation of the principles of peaceful coexistence among states with various systems.

The relations linking us have resulted in the wide development of mutual cooperation in all spheres--political, scientific-technical, social and cultural. The achievements of mutual cooperation are to be further enriched and developed. This direction of our efforts clearly emerges from the decisions of our party congresses--the Second Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba and the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress.

In the present period, in view of the aggravated international situation, meetings and talks with friends are particularly important, Minister Czyrek said.

Unable to accept the development of the forces of socialism, peace and progress, imperialism is forcing a new stage in the arms race and clearly aspiring to change the balance of powers and win military supremacy. This is particularly expressed with unequivocal eloquence by the decisions to begin production of new kinds of mass extermination weapons, such as the neutron weapons. Systematic attempts are being made to maintain and expand the spheres of influence, to check the national liberation processes and the endeavors of peoples to emancipate themselves socially and politically. And this is the chief reason for the continuing old and emerging new hotbeds of tension and conflicts in various parts of the world. All means are being used for this purpose, from a more or less disguised subversion to various forms of pressure and interference in the domestic affairs of sovereign states, up to the acts of open brutal aggression. The most recent manifestation of this has been the large-scale aggression committed by the racist regime of the Republic of South Africa against the People's Republic of Angola, which is an open challenge to the entire liberated Africa, to all countries respecting the elementary standards of international life. The Government of the Polish People's Republic, like the overwhelming majority of states all over the world, has severely condemned this act of aggression.

In the context of the vigorous forces hostile to cause of peace and progress in the world, we also see attempts to use the events in Poland, to play the so-called Polish card for cold war purposes, to discredit socialism and to aggravate confrontation in international relations. It should be stated that suitable grounds for such attempts are being provided by the pronouncements and activities of the opponents of socialism in Poland, who are trying to make use of the situation in the Polish trade union movement to steer certain factions in that movement against the constitutional bases of the socialist state, against the vital interests of the nation. It is not coincidental that such attempts were intensified recently when, while consolidating the activity and role of the party, the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress drew up a concrete program for social renewal and for overcoming the existing economic and sociopolitical difficulties.

We state with full emphasis: All of the expectations that socialism in Poland could be weakened and the alliance links with the Soviet Union and our socialist neighbors and friends could be undermined are doomed. The independent and sovereign existence, security and international position of our country are inseparably linked with socialism. As a link in the community of the socialist states, Poland will continue to actively contribute toward consolidating cooperation within the framework of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA, toward the common struggle for a peaceful development of the world, for international security, for checking the arms race and for disarmament. Highly important to the common efforts in this direction is the program for peace for the eighties endorsed by the 26th CPSU Congress.

The place of Poland was and is on the side of the forces of peace and progress in the world, on the side of peoples fighting for their liberation, aspiring to overcome the development lags caused by colonialism, striving for just and equal international cooperation. We highly value the great and positive role played in the international arena by the movement of nonaligned states. We appreciate and fully support the vigorous international activity conducted by Cuba as a front-ranking state in the movement of nonaligned states.

At the end Minister Czyrek expressed satisfaction with the course and outcome of the talks. He said that the broad scope of the topics discussed would be of great importance both for our bilateral cooperation and for cooperation in the international arena.

Joint Communique

LD172148 Warsaw PAP in English 2015 GMT 17 Sep 81

["Joint Polish-Cuban Communique"--PAP headline]

[Text] Havana, 17 Sep (PAP)--Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the PUWP Central Committee, Poland's Minister for Foreign Affairs Jozef Czyrek paid an official friendly visit to Cuba on 14-16 September at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party and the Cuban Government. He was received by the first secretary of the CCP CC and chairman of the Council of State and the Council of Ministers, Fidel Castro Ruz, and held talks with other members of the Cuban leadership. The Polish visitor and the Cuban leaders reviewed the present state of bilateral relations, expressed satisfaction at their development and their readiness to promote their all-round development.

Jozef Czyrek informed the Cuban side of the developments in Poland.

Members of the Cuban party and Government leadership voiced the hope that the party and Poland's Government supported by the forces of reason and responsibility will overcome the difficulties and will continue to work towards development of the socialist society.

The two sides expressed their deep concern over the present international situation which they described as critical and very tense as a result of imperialist strivings towards checking the process of detente and social progress, towards stepping up the arms race and interfering in the internal affairs of socialist countries and other progressive states. These actions are calculated at reinforcing the imperialist hegemony, pushing international relations back to the cold war period and confronting mankind with the spectre of nuclear annihilation.

The two sides resolutely condemned the Republic of South Africa's aggression against Angola, voiced solidarity in lending support to the Angolan Government and nation, as well as solidarity with the Namibian nation.

It has been stated that the global imperialist policy seeks to heighten international tension and creates a serious threat to peace. This situation calls for the strengthening and unification of all progressive forces in order to arrest this dangerous tendency.

Both sides expressed support for peaceful proposals put forth by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and the efforts of other states designed to lessen international tension. The Polish side voiced high recognition for the activity of Cuba as leader of the movement of the non-aligned countries.

The talks took place in atmosphere of brotherhood, friendship and mutual understanding, identity of criteria and standpoints regarding the main questions which are in the focus of world attention. Josef Czyrek and Isidoro Malmierca signed a plan of cooperation between the foreign ministries of Poland and Cuba for the years 1981-85. Jozef Czyrek invited Isidoro Malmierca to pay a visit to Poland. The invitation was accepted with pleasure.

Meeting With Castro

LD171332 Warsaw PAP in Russian 0900 GMT 17 Sep 81

[By PAP correspondent Ryszard Rymaszewski]

[Text] Havana, 17 Sep (PAP)--On 16 September, Jozef Czyrek, Politburo member, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, minister of foreign affairs of the Polish People's Republic, ended his official visit to Cuba at the invitation of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee and the government of that country.

On the last day of his visit, J. Czyrek was received by Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee, president of the Council of State and of the Council of Ministers. The 2-hour meeting passed in a cordial, friendly atmosphere. Problems concerning interparty cooperation between the PZPR and the Cuban Communist party and also the development of relations between the two states were touched upon. An exchange of views on the international situation also took place, in particular on questions concerning the struggle for peace and detente in the world. Their great importance, in the face of the new threats to international peace raised by the forces of the cold war, was stressed. During the meeting, Fidel Castro Ruz passed on cordial greetings to the Polish leaders tanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of Ministers. The Cuban leader wished the Polish people a swift overcoming, through their own forces, of the difficulties being experienced by Poland.

Earlier, Jozef Czyrek and Isidoro Malmierca Peoli, member of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee, Cuban minister of foreign relations, signed a plan of cooperation between the two countries' Ministries of Foreign Affairs for 1981-1985.

From Havana, the head of Polish diplomacy headed for New York where he will take part in the UN session. At Havana airport, the Polish guest was seen off by I. Malmierca Peoli and other Cuban state and party leaders.

CZYREK MEETING WITH CASTANEDA NOTED

LD201116 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 20 Sep 81

[Text] Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs Jozef Czyrek and his Mexican counterpart, Jorge Castaneda, have discussed current international issues and the development of bilateral relations. Jozef Czyrek made a brief stopover in Mexico on his way to New York to attend a session of the UN General Assembly.

FOREIGN MINISTER TO VISIT BRAZIL 30 SEP-1 OCT

LD211834 Warsaw PAP in English 1704 GMT 21 Sep 81

[Text] Warsaw, 21 Sep (PAP)--On the 30th of September and the 1st of October Poland's Minister of Foreign Affairs Jozef Czyrek will pay an official visit to Brazil on the invitation of Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Federative Republic of Brazil Ramiro Seraiva Guerreiro, says a communique issued here tonight.

CORRECTION TO REACTIONS TO 16 SEP PZPR STATEMENT

The following correction to the item entitled "PZPR 16 Sep Statement Receives Support, Criticism," published in the 21 September Eastern Europe DAILY REPORT on page G 2, supplies dropped organization acronym. On page G 6 under the subtitle "PAP Summarizes Reactions," lines two and three of paragraph three should read: "...of illegal organisations of KPN [Confederation for an Independent Poland], KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] and others, and urge that all..."

BRIEFS

SOVIET COTTON--At the border station in Malaszewice, the first consignment of Soviet cotton from this year's harvest arrived. Among the many thousand tons of goods which were unloaded here during the last 24 hours, there was potassium salt, iron ore and fuel oils. [Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 21 Sep 81 LD]

CEAUSESCU TALKS WITH PALESTINIAN MAYORS

AU221550 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1500 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, today received (Fahd al-Kalah Smih), mayor of the city of Al-Khalil, Hebron, and (Muhammad Milsim), mayor of the city of Halhul, who are on a visit in our country at the invitation of the Romanian League of Friendship with the Asian and African peoples.

The guests extended warm greetings to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu on behalfof Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, as well as best wishes. They extended warm thanks to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu for receiving them. They also expressed the gratitude of all the residents of the cities they represent, the gratitude of the PLO for the sustained activity carried out by Romania and its head of state devoted to the just solution of the Palestinian people's problem and the conflict in the Middle East.

Expressing thanks for the feelings expressed, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, in turn, conveyed friendly greetings and sincere best wishes for success to the chairman of the PLO Executive Committee in his activity. At the same time, the head of the Romanian state reiterated Romania's determination to continue to grant all its support to the struggle waged by the Palestinian people for achieving their inalienable rights, for an equitable solution to the Middle East situation.

During the ensuing talk, the two sides stressed their common desire to expand and strengthen friendship and cooperation between Socialist Romania and the PLO and between the Romanian and Palestinian peoples in the interests of the cause of peace, understanding and cooperation in the world.

The two sides also discussed certain current international issues and especially developments in the Middle East situation. In this context, the two sides stressed the need to intensify political and diplomatic activity to achieve a settlement of the Middle East situation by establishing a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in that area on the basis of Israel's withdrawal from the Palestinian and Arab territories occupied in the wake of the 1967 war and from Arab Jerusalem, and on the basis of a settlement of the Palestinian people's problem by recognizing their right to self-determination, including creating an independent state, and guaranteeing the independence and sovereignty of all states in that area.

The two sides also stressed the importance of convening an international conference under UN aegis and with the participation of the sides concerned, including the PLO--the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people--with the participation of the Soviet Union and the United States, as cochairmen of the Geneva Conference, and that of other states which may make a positive contribution to the process of settling the Middle East conflict by peaceful means.

In this context, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu reiterated the need to cancel the measures for expelling the mayors of Al-Khalil, Hebron, and Halhul, and let the two mayors return to their cities where they were elected unanimously by all Palestinian people. The two sides also stressed the need to renounce the policy of implanting new Israeli settlements in Palestinian territories, since this creates new tension in that area and renders the peace process in the Middle East more difficult.

The meeting took place in a cordial, friendly atmosphere.

BRITISH AEROSPACE COMPANY OFFICIALS VISIT

Talks With Ceausescu

AU221341 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1300 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, today received (Austin Pearce), chairman of British Aerospace Company, and Allen Greenwood, vice chairman of that company, who are on a visit to our country. The meeting was attended by Gheroghe Oprea, first deputy prime minister of the Romanian Government, and Ioan Avram, minister of machine-building industry. Paul Cecil Henry Holmer, ambassador of Great Britain in Bucharest, was also present.

During the ensuing talk, the two sides exchanged views on the development of cooperation between specialized Romanian companies and British Aerospace and expressed satisfaction with the positive cooperation in this field between Romania and England. The two sides also discussed a number of matters pertaining to intensifying mutually advantageous cooperation between Romania and Great Britain in the aeronautics field and in other branches of the machine-building industry and stressed existing opportunities to develop that cooperation.

The talk took place in a cordial atmosphere.

Oprea Meets Britons

AU221808 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1745 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Text] Bucharest, 22 Sep (AGERPRES)--Gheorghe Oprea, first deputy prime minister, received on September 22 Austin Pearce, chairman of "British Aerospace" and Allen Greenwood, deputy chairman, now paying a visit to Romania.

During the interview the good relations of collaboration were highlighted existing between the Romanian specialized industry and the British firm, and aspects were approached of the further development of the Romanian-British collaboration in aerospace and in other branches of the machine-building industry.

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES LIBYAN BUREAU SECRETARY

AU221837 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1755 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Text] Bucharest, 22 Sep (AGERPRES)--Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu received on Tuesday the new secretary of the People's Committee of the People's Bureau of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah in Bucharest, ('Abd al-Hamad az-Zintani), who paid a presentation call on beginning his mission in Romania.

The call was attended by Aurel Duma, minister secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

President Nicolae Ceausescu conversed in a cordial, friendly atmosphere with the new secretary of the People's Committee of the People's Bureau of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah in Bucharest.

Satisfaction was expressed on the occasion at the good Romanian-Libyan relations, just as the wish that those relations develop ever more powerfully in keeping with the understandings convenanted during the Romanian-Libyan summit dialogue.

LEBANESE BA'TH SECRETARY GENERAL ARRIVES

AU221841 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1810 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Text] Bucharest, 22 Sep (AGERPRES)--Assem Qansou, member of the National Command of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party of Lebanon, secretary-general of that party, arrived in Bucharest on September 22 to pay a visit to Romania at the invitation of the CC of the RCP.

At the Bucharest-Otopeni Airport, the guest was welcomed by Iosif Banc, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP.

CHILEAN CP DELEGATION ARRIVES 22 SEPTEMBER

AU221843 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1815 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Text] Bucharest, 22 Sep (AGERPRES)--A delegation of the Communist Party of Chile, led by Orlando Milias, member of the Political Commission and of the Secretariat of the CC of that party, arrived in Bucharest on Tuesday, September 22.

At the Otopeni Airport the delegation was welcomed by Iosif Banc, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP.

AGERPRES REPORTS FOREIGN TRADE DEVELOPMENT

AU211142 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0920 GMT 21 Sep 81

["Concerns for Higher Efficiency in Romanian Foreign Trade"--AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 21 Sep (AGERPRES)--The Romanian foreign trade develops within the planned limit. The data supplied by the relevant ministry show that over January 1-August 1, 1981 the export grew, in less favourable conjunctural conditions, by 15 percent and, as to the achievements in the same period of the previous year, by over 18 percent. The import dropped by some 10 percent.

So, the measures endorsed in relation to foreign trade, which chiefly pursue a higher efficiency, already prove their effect, through better results than in the past years. In the complex process of development of the exchanges, coming to the fore are the preoccupations for concentrating the selling on markets that offer prospects for the future, especially with certain categories of machinery and equipment, with transport means, tractors and farm machinery. For the ever more efficient affirmation of the Romanian export in the foreign markets, action was taken for the specialization of some works, factories or units whose products would go entirely or mostly to export. Thus, in the machine-building industry, a host of important units work entirely for export, manufacturing jeep-type cars, wagons or technological equipment for refineries and cement mills. Likewise, in the light industry numerous readymades and footwear units work for export.

The expansion and diversification of export is correlated with the import activity, as two inseparable facets of the selfsame process, with the export ensuring, in general and in the relations with various countries, the valuta [foreign currency] resources paying for the imports, and balance commercial exchanges alike.

BRIEFS

YOUTH DELEGATION IN FINLAND--Helsinki, 10 Sep (AGERPRES)--The delegation of the Union of Communist Youth [UCY], led by Pantelimon Gavanescu, first secretary of the CC of the UCY, now on an official visit to Finland, was received by Arvo Aalto, secretary-general of the Finnish Communist Party, who, on behalf of the leadership of the Finnish Communist Party, conveyed warm greetings and wishes of full success in his entire activity to the general secretary of the RCP, president of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu. A programme of bilateral collaboration was convenanted between the Union of Communist Youth and the Council of State for Youth Affairs with a view to enhancing the contribution of the bilateral cooperation of the Romanian and Finnish youth to a better mutual knowledge, to the development of the cooperation between the two countries and peoples. [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1100 GMT 10 Sep 81 AU]

BORBA NOTES 'ECONOMIC BLOCKADE' OF POLAND

AU221335 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Sep 81 pp 1, 7

[Lazar Martinovic report]

[Excerpts] Warsaw, 20 Sep--The Poles have lived through a stormy week which brought the crisis to its calmination. Now they face another week during which certain events will perhaps be fateful. In this complex situation, the only thing that is easily done here is to ask questions, but it is almost impossible to find the right answers.

In this critical moment, which the press here has called the gravest stage of the Polish crisis, the only question that is heard everywhere is: What next:

The split between the authorities and the Solidarity trade union including many millions of members is complete. The differences are so deep that no one can even see the slightest chance for dialogue and agreement.

Two documents published last week, the statements by the PZPR Politburo and the government, clearly indicate how deep the split is. For the first time they make no mention of dialogue and agreement or of any partnership. Instead, they dramatically appeal to the nation to resist Solidarity's counterrevolutionary activity. The confrontation has assumed its most dramatic form.

Solidarity's reaction to the heaviest charges against it so far also leaves no room for compromise. This trade union has appraised the denunciations by the party and the government as undocumented, provocative and an attempt to frighten. Solidarity has been also irritated by certain statements by high PZPR officials that the time has come for the army and the security organs to appear on the scene and that there are grounds for placing this trade union outside the law.

Although there is no official view on that at present, many people here sense it to some extent in the government's threats. However, it is difficult to say whether what is involved is only an attempt to frighten, as Solidarity claims, or whether the situation is really so critical.

The letter of the CPSU and the Soviet Government was like pouring oil on fire. Its contents and tone unambiguously indicate that, although it has limited itself to only condemning anti-Sovietism this time, the "most important ally" is not prepared to remain indifferent to the entire development of events in Poland for long.

According to some views, the split between Poland and its allies is also deepening. Following the USSR's views, some other countries of the camp [lager] have also started to sharply attack the Polish leadership, something that has not been done in the past, at least not as openly as now. Their attacks were aimed mainly at Solidarity. Thus, the party and government have now found themselves under heavy fire from the allies in addition to the internal pressures.

A certain economic blockade by the allies is cause for particular concern here. Almost all the allies refuse to make any deliveries if they are not based on reciprocity. That, too, is a kind of reaction to the internal ferment with which the allies are not all pleased. The weight of these consequences is becoming increasingly evident from to day.

Just as in the similar earlier situations, a certain differentiation is taking place in the party itself. The known structures, ranging from "the forums" advocating a hard course to "the horizontal organizations" resolutely opposing such a course, are being revived. Naturally, this affects the unity of the party and saps its strength.

MILIKA SUNDIC VIEWS 23 SEP HAIG-GROMYKO MEETING

LD221740 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1403 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Milika Sundic commentary]

[Text] As agreed previously between the Soviet Union and the United States, Andrey Gromyko and Alexander Haig are to meet in New York tomorrow. If the international situation were not as it is--more complex than it has ever been in the last 20 years--something might be expected from the meeting between the ministers of the two superpowers.

Of course, this does not mean that the first such high-level meeting between the Soviet Union and the new U.S. administration should be written off in advance. However, if one remembers the very strained relations between the two superpowers and the international situation in general, Gromyko and Haig--according to many assessments, including both Soviet and U.S. assessments--will hardly succeed in establishing normal communications.

Both sides assert that the fate of Soviet-U.S. relations, and therefore, the fate of world peace, depends on the behaviour of the United States or the Soviet Union. As a result of this and other mutual accusations, the world has really reached a crisis which it has not encountered for a long time, and relations between the two superpowers are completely uncertain.

As had been envisaged, Gromyko and Haig were to agree on beginning a dialogue to reduce nuclear arms. The United States, as is well known, places conditions on the talks with regard to a change in Soviet behavior while the Soviet Union holds the view that there will be no talks with the United States unless the Reagan administration stops production of the neturon bomb. The positions of the two superpowers are diametrically opposed and their mutual coordination cannot be arrived at without concessions on both sides. However, this raises the question of who should concede what.

When they speak about a need for a change in Soviet behavior, the United States has very much in mind the latest developments in Poland and around it. For its part, the Soviet Union forcefully demands that the United States renounce its ambition of military superiority and an end to interference in the internal affairs of countries in the so-called socialist community.

It is true that it is clear to both sides that in relations with their allies they are confronted with problems on which they had not counted. The Soviet demarches to the Polish leadership and the situation in Poland itself have become the number one problem for the Soviet Union along with the great danger of that situation becoming a problem for both Europe and the world soon, with unforeseeable consequences. But, regardless of all that, Gromyko is not prepared to discuss the situation in Poland with Haig, or even less, to come to an agreement with him. Naturally, it is quite clear to Moscow that the Polish crisis cannot even be written off in contacts with the West, particularly in contacts with the countries of Western Europe, about which it is very concerned. In fact, the Soviet Union's desire to maintain its relations with Western Eruope is perhaps the only thing preventing hasty action in its attitude to Poland, that is, any action going further than the recent demarche to the Polish leadership.

Relations between the United States and its Western European allies are not without conflicts either. The U.S. allies seek a dialogue with Moscow from Reagan, and not confrontation. This in practice means that Haig, at tomorrow's meeting with Gromyko, will not even be able to refer to a monolithic Western bloc and will have to reconcile himself to the fact that he is talking with someone who is asking for more than he is offering, and who, along with this, considers that Haig, as a former general, is far more inclined toward confrontation with the Soviet Union than toward negotiations.

As may be seen, the uncertainty is complete. However, the world continues to believe that the two superpowers must move from the positions which they are adopting, if not for the world's sake, then for their own, and a minimum of success would provide great relief for everyone.

DJURANOVIC HOLDS TALKS WITH KUWAIT'S AS-SABAH

AU220932 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Sep 81 p 1

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Sep (TANJUG)--Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad as-Sabah, amir of the state of Kuwait, today met with Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council.

During a cordial and friendly talk, there was an exchange of views on issues of promoting and expanding cooperation on a bilateral and wider international level.

It was noted with satisfaction that the political and economic cooperation between Yugoslavia and Kuwait is developing successfully, but that there are still unutilized opportunities for the further development of relations, particularly in the fields of commodity exchange, joint ventures and production cooperation.

Willingness was expressed for both sides to make efforts to determine specific possibilities and projects in the field of economic relations which would lead to an increase in the overall volume of trade between the two countries. To this erd, the work will be expedited to convene the next session of the Interstate Joint Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation, which will examine in detail all issues of joint interest in this field.

During the talk on international issues, both sides stressed the importance and role of the nonaligned policy and movement as an important, active and irreplaceable factor for preserving peace and security in the world.

The relations between Yugoslaiva and Kuwait are characterized by their adherence to the original principles of the nonaligned policy and movement, as well as an identity of views and high-level agreement in their views on the essential problems of the current international political and economic relations, all of which represents a firm basis for the further development and enrichment of relations in all fields.

COURT HANDS DOWN 6-YEAR SENTENCE FOR ESPIONAGE

LD221520 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1427 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Sep (TANJUG)--The Belgrade district court bench today sentenced Bosko Simic to 6 years imprisonment. He had been found guilty of committing a criminal act of espionage under article 128 of the SFRY criminal code.

It was established by evidence [placed before the court] that defendant Bosko Simic had revealed to members of the intelligence service of two countries confidential information which was of importance for the security of our country.

MOJSOV ADDRESSES MARKOVIC ANNIVERSARY MEETING

LD221116 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0741 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Speech by President of the LCY Presidium Lazar Mojsov at 22 September anniversary meeting devoted to the memory of Svetozar Markovic]

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 22 Sep (TANJUG)--It is a pleasant duty and it gives me pleasure to open this year's meeting devoted to Svetozar Markovic, one of the first protagonists of scientific socialism and a precurser of the idea of self-management in our country, a man of exceptional intellectual, political and personal courage, of acute mind and sharp pen.

His most fertile thoughts and most progressive aspirations have already been confirmed in the revolutionary achievements of the working class of Serbia and of all nations and nationalities of our country, in their socialist, self-management and federal community--Yugoslavia. This is the sixth successive autumn that his ideas and works have inspired meetings of scholars here in Svetozarevo.

In our socialist society, publicity is based on social owner-ship of the means of production, associated labor and socialist self-management. It is an essential element of self-management democracy, the right and opportunity of our working people and citizens to express their will, to formulate their decisions and incorporate themselves into the machinery of self-management and social decision-making. Of course, publicity in a self-management society is already incorporated in the process of decision-making through the delegate system, but self-management democracy embraces also broader processes and trends of public expression. The initiative of the stands and interests of the working people and citizens, their organizations and communities and their public social dialogue in general.

In view of the fact that self-management represents an active role of every individual in organizing the conditions and the way of life and work in society, it is particularly important to ensure the publicity of information in the function of delegate decision-making in the central cells of production, of our life together and of political activity. The development of overall social relations undoubtedly extends the scope and the range of publicity, just as publicity in its turn significantly encourages the development of socialist self-management democracy.

Public political business, as a social category in socialist society, has its class foundation. It is the requirement, the right and the commitment of the working class and of all working people, regardless of whether we consider this notion in its broader sense, as a public discussion of overall social business and adoption of social decisions, or in the more restricted sense as public information. The publicity of social work and of political power, and especially the activity of public information media, represent therefore, an area of special interest to the working class, but not as a force above society or as a transmission belt of power, but as an integral part and as an indispensable component in the activity of subjective socialist forces. This ensures the broader social significance of the role of the public information media in our self-management socialist society, and of journalists as active social political workers.

The journalist, as a sociopolitical worker in public information media, is not an observer or an arbiter in social development, but a responsible and active factor of socialist social transformation. The information he supplies must not be either a neutral reflection of some manifestations in our society or a private deliberation about these manifestations, but a creative and critical creation of all factors of information. In terms of the basic substance of his profession, a journalist incorporates himself in a meritorious way in public activity, but he must also at the same time encourage and make possible the participation of other public factors, creating the conditions whereby they, too, can express themselves as active and responsible participants of information. Nevertheless, even today the working man is still a passive recipient rather than an active creator of information or a subject influencing its undercurrents and substance.

The League of Communists as a whole and in each environment separately, as a leading ideopolitical force, has a special responsibility for the development of the system of public information, for the socialist orientation and class substance of information, and for making it possible for information services independently and responsibly to take part in the implementation and development of self-management relations. The press, radio and television, along their road of development, are increasingly successfully implementing their role in our society, trying to point out the interests of the working class, of the working people and citizens.

Moreover, our information media are trying to provide an answer to many outstanding social questions to which, broadly speaking, an answer has not yet been provided. In this respect, they sometimes have more and sometimes less success. It is apparent, with the exception of certain vascillations and various negative influences, that the ideas proceeding from the bourgeois concept of the press and which consider public information media as a force outside and above society, are encountered less and less. However, such phenomena were present and continue to be present, such as during the recent polemics concerning the responsibility for the publication of certain sensationalist information, when attempts emerged to elevate the public information media to the level of a partner of the party, as a force outside the system and as a kind of "social conscience".

In the affirmation of all essential values of our society, our information media must be persistent and creative. There is too much waiting for outside signals and too much liking for those partial manifestations and interests which we are now trying to remove on the broader social and economic plans. For this reason, it happens that out of politicized narrow interests, through public information media, and under the guise of pluralism of self-management interests, there emerge also manifestations of the pluralism of political interests.

No doubt creative criticism is present in public information, but it still lags benind actual developments and requirements of the development of self-management socialist society. Criticism and responsibility do not always merge into one, but illuminate each other and do so in the service of specific interest when these interests want to be preserved or acquired. Social criticism must be central to the creative efforts which our theoretical thought expands and enhances on Marxist foundations or unmasks any portrayal of antisocialist and antiself-management contents.

We are, therefore, facing the constant task of ceaselessly investing efforts to ensure that public information should genuinely become and exist as an integral part of the political system of socialist self-management, and that it should express its social character, democratic spirit and raison d'etre in our working class and the people.

This meeting of scholars about publicity and Svetozar Markovic's teaching, apart from any other objectives it may have, through a deep retrospective insight into, and the ideas of, this socialist thinker must make a contribution to this social role and functioning of public information. It must also encourage the overall development of democracy, publicity and responsibility in our socialist self-management society, Lazar Mojsov, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, stressed in conclusion.

VOJVODINA ASSEMBLY DISCUSSES ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES

LD221546 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1329 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Summary] Novi Sad, 22 Sep (TANJUG)--At their session today the delegates in the Vojvodina Assembly were told that despite positive results in the first half of this year not all sources of instability have been removed in the Vojvodina economy with the result that the present economic situation is worse than last year. While it is true that industrial production in the province during the first half year went up by 7.5 percent, there is the alarming fact that industry is having increasing difficulties with raw materials and reproduction material supplies and is experiencing a lower growth of income. Major difficulties in business operations are also due to the high rise in current losses amounting to over 4 billion dinars. The reasons for this are many, among them the fact that outstanding bills have not been paid. The amount of money outstanding is two and a half times as high as in the same period last year.

The Vojvodin best chance in the battle for economic stabilization is to export more into convertible areas. Goods valued at $320 million should be exported to this market or $80 million worth of goods per month till the end of the year. This plan can be implemented despite the fact that the rate of exports in the first 14 days in September was not satisfactory because only $14 million worth of goods were exported to convertible areas. Attention was drawn to the fact that this poor export record is placing the Vojvodina economy in a very difficult position not only because it impairs the planned import of goods but also because it reduces drastically the posibility of importing raw and reproduction material. The stoppage of production in enterprises as important as Petrohemija, some departments of the Subotica Zorka and the Panecevo refinery is a result of this state of affairs.

VLAJKOVIC PROPOSED AS PRESIDENCY CANDIDATE

LD221256 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1130 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Summary] Novi Sad, 22 Sep (TANJUG)--Radovan Vlajkovic, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, was proposed today as a candidate for membership of the SFRY Presidency. This proposal of the Coordination Committee for Cadre Policy, on the initiative of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Vojvodina following consultations in the sociopolitical organizations in Vojvodina, was unanimously endorsed at the meeting today of the Presidium of the Provincial Conference of the SAWP of Vojvodina in Novi Sad.

KOSOVO'S DEVA ADDRESSES LIPLJAN POLITICAL AKTIV

AU222056 Pristina Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 22 Sep 81

[Text] Veli Deva, president of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo, and Mecus Balabani, member of the Provincial Conference Presidium of the Kosovo SAWP, today attended a meeting of the political-economic aktiv of Lipljan Commune. Petar Jaksic, president of the Communal Conference of the League of Communists, informed Veli Deva about the political-security and economic situation in the commune. He said that the political-security situation in the commune is increasingly stabilized day by day. The normal beginning of the new school year gives evidence of this. Sucri Haziri, president of the provisional managing organ of the Goles mine, informed Veli Deva, president of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo, about the situation in the Goles mine.

Participating in the discussion, Veli Deva stressed that the League of Communists of Kosovo must learn lessons for its future activity from the past developments. Veli Deva devoted a part of his speech to relations among nationalities and to the national equality of the peoples and nationalities. We have had success in this respect in those circles in which we have developed an intensive activity, while in those circles in which our absence was felt, the enemy was present. The enemy's aim was to destabilize not only Kosovo but the entire country. To achieve a further successful stabilization of the situation in the province, a strengthening of confidence and relations among nationalities is of primary importance, Veli Deva stressed.

In the discussion at the session of the political-economic aktiv of Lipljan Commune, Veli Deva particularly dealt with the complex economic situation in Lipljan Commune and referred to the problems of the Goles mine. He said that it is necessary to create a clear orientation about the involvement of the working people of the collective in order to overcome the difficulties in this mine, which has been operating for a number of years at a loss. In this connection, the necessary support of the wider community must not be missing.